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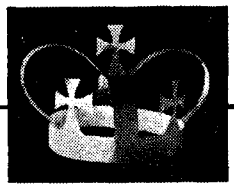

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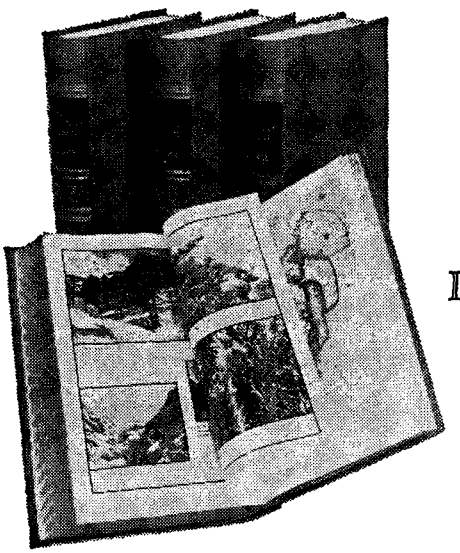

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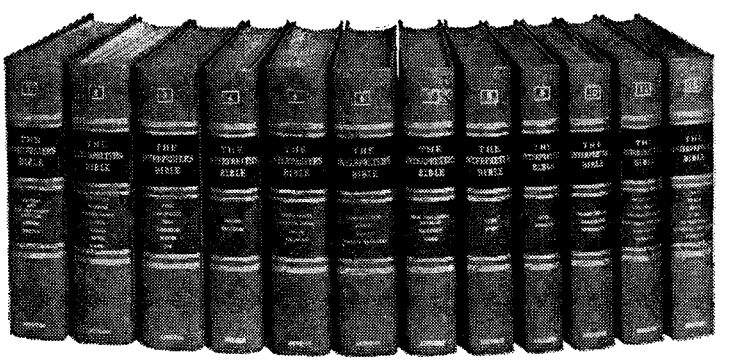

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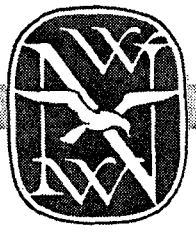

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If You Don't Mind My Saying So. . . . . .

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

At Los Angeles we were told that the San Francisco Airport was fogged in, and given a choice. We could go to a hotel for the night and hope that the weather would clear or we could resign ourselves to a nine hour bus ride. I chose the bus while reflecting sourly on the paradoxes of today's travel, so neatly illustrated by the fact that not many months before I had come to San Francisco from Tokyo in exactly the same time it would take me to get there from Los Angeles. One compensation—if you can call it that—did develop. I got the most extensive view I have ever had of what is now commonly called the Sloburbs. Also, the fullest realization of their horror.

Nowhere are they worse than in the Los Angeles area and nowhere are they more extensive. For several hours the same dismal scenes change so little that it is hard to believe one is moving at all. Gas station, motel, car lot, bar, hamburger stand; then gas station, motel, car lot, bar and hamburger stand again, all bathed in the hellish glow of neon. Daylight would have made everything look shabbier but not less unattractive.

Los Angeles can, of course, be accused of no more than a bad eminence. Nearly all American towns, even quite small ones, present a more or less extensive version of the same picture. The newer and faster-growing the community the more it tends to be a sloburb and nothing else, and sloburbs are so much alike that if you were carried into one blindfolded you would often find it impossible to say not only where you were, but even whether you were north or south or east or west.

Tucson, where I now live, is no exception. In fact, it is rather worse than many agglomerations because so much of its explosive growth is recent and takes the form of rapidly spreading sloburbs. They have not yet reached the area where I live but they are creeping toward it, and as I drove home the other day through spreading ugliness I was amazed again that this sort of anti-city could be so characterless. Everything looks improvised, random, unrelated to everything else, as though it had no memory of yesterday and no expectation of tomorrow.

Nor is this true only of the motel-bar-hamburger stand complex. It is almost equally so of a new kind of "business district" which is less a district than a ribbon of commercial establishments growing longer and longer as "downtown" shrinks or stagnates. Here the repetitive succession is not unlike that of the only slightly frowzier parade of eateries, drinkeries and sleeperies. The supermarkets (one every few hundred yards) are the most imposing of the commercial establishments. Between them come drugstores which sell more toys, sporting equipment and sandwiches than they do drugs; dimestores; TV repair shops and auto supply emporia in a sort of procession which is repeated as soon as the repertory has completed itself.

Yet this is far from being a depressed area. It is actually a very prosperous one and real estate prices skyrocket in what is only a little better than a sort of shantytown. Poverty, I reminded myself, creates slums and slums can be even uglier. But I wondered if ever before in history a prosperous people had consented to live in communities so devoid of every grace and dignity, so slumlike in everything except the money they represent. They are something new and almost uniquely unattractive—neither country nor village nor town nor city—just an agglomeration without

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plan, without any sense of unity or direction, as though even offices and shops were thought of as (like nearly everything else in our civilization) disposable and therefore not worth considering from any standpoint except the make-do of the moment.

A real metropolis has a quasi-organic unity. There is a nerve center, more or less elaborate, which includes whatever public buildings, theaters, auditoriums and major commercial emporia the community can support. From the impressiveness of this nerve center one can judge pretty accurately just to what degree it is a metropolis rather than a town or a village. Its suburbs and even its slums are related to the whole. But a large sloburb like that which surrounds and all but engulfs Los Angeles differs from that of the village on the highway in nothing except area. You could cut a piece off it and set the piece down anywhere and you could not tell that it had grown up around Los Angeles rather than where you found it. A suburb implies a city to which it is attached, but what we are increasingly developing are huge agglomerations that cannot be called suburbs because there are no urbs to own them.

Why, then, have the sloburbs become the most characteristic aspect of modern America, the only real urban development new to our time? They are as much our special contribution to the look and feel of our environment as the skyscraper was the contribution of the first half of the century.

If you accept the now usual assumption that whatever we do or are is the necessary result of "evolving technology," then the answer is easy. Technological progress has made the population explosion supportable and necessitated rapid growth. The automobile has made us mobile, and prosperity has not only created the demand for the superfluities to which two thirds of the enterprises in the sloburbs cater but also encouraged the tendency to regard everything, including architecture, as disposable. Stores, office buildings and even churches will be "turned in" for new ones in a year or two. That is progress.

If, on the other hand, you believe that evolving technology is only half the story, that human beings are capable of resisting as well as of yielding to pressures, then the question why we have consented to the sloburbs remains, why we are to all appearances so contented with them. Remember that sloburbs are the product of wealth and abundance. The motel-cafe regions cater to those who have much leisure; the merchandising sloburbs depend at least as much upon what might be called luxury goods as they do upon necessities. Why is there so little that is luxurious, or even decently dignified, about the buildings that house them, the merchandising methods they employ? Why should an abundant society be content to accept communities so obviously the antithesis of that "gracious living" that the service magazines talk about and declare to be nowadays open to all?

Easy answers to that question are also available if you want to accept them. Americans have no taste, no sense of dignity, no ability to discriminate between the informality to which they are committed and the slovenliness of the sloburbs. Their civic pride does not extend beyond pride in increasing size and the prosperity that means that most of its citizens are making money building sloburbs or operating them. Given the primary fact of profit, nothing else is very important. Certainly aesthetic considerations are not. Arizona, for instance, tempts the tourist with the pretense that its proudest boast is its natural beauty. But it really prefers billboards, as is evidenced by the fact that it recently again rejected the offer of the national government to grant a bonus if it would keep the main highways clear of them.

These also are, of course, familiar charges and not without an element of truth. But they are not quite the whole story, not quite fair. The typical American is not indifferent to everything except profit. He is merely indifferent to *some* of the things that others consider important. He has, for example, an enormous faith in schooling—which he assumes to be the same thing as education. In Tucson, for instance, by far the most imposing bulidings are the

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absurdly elaborate schools which the citizens who prefer billboards to scenic grandeur seem willing to support through very high taxes. The consensus seems to be essentially this: It is just that a citizen should be taxed heavily and also expected to contribute generously. But he should never, under any circumstances, be prevented from making a profit. Hospitals, also, seem to be among the nonprofit institutions to which a citizen points with pride. But he is unwilling to do anything to slow the spread of sloburbs. The zoning regulations are a farce. If an area is zoned for residents only, that usually means that no business can be established there until somebody wants to establish one—at which time the zoning is promptly changed. Order, dignity, grace and beauty are things that are simply not worth paying even a small price for. Schooling, recreation and health should be supported. But the other parts of, and provisions for, the good life are not the community's business. Or perhaps all that this tolerance of sloburbs comes down to in the end is that same kindly slovenliness in manners and morals to which we seem more and more inclined. But such tolerance is enough to permit the development of communities that it is impossible to imagine an earlier generation submitting to without protest.

Some years ago I decided that for me the city was paying diminishing returns and I moved away from it. This was a choice I have never regretted, but it was related to my time of life as well as to certain aspects of my temperament. It did not mean that I had no regard for cities and what they have contributed to civilization. But the sloburbs have none of the advantages of country, village or genuine city life. They do not, like real cities, provide a sufficiently large minority of citizens of intellectual and artistic taste to support cultural institutions proportionate to the size of their populations. Neither do they provide that "life of the streets" that is another of the chief attractions offered by a real city. Anywhere in a sloburb one may buy gasoline, cocktails, beer and hamburgers. But one cannot go window-shopping or indulge in any of the other activities that in New York or San Francisco draw strollers down the streets of the urban core. Neither, of course, can one breathe fresh air or enjoy the beauties of nature. One can only breathe gas fumes and revel in the glow of neon. Of all the places into which one's lot may be cast, few—not even those minimum security prisons called Garden Apartments of the sort I pass on my way once or twice a year from Manhattan to Kennedy Airport—strike me as more dismal.

Thinking of a real city as something analogous to a living creature where highly differentiated organs are all related to and coordinated by a central nervous system, I found myself wondering to just what sort of creature an individual sloburb might be compared. Most of even the so-called primitive organisms are wholes in the sense that the parts are related to one another and cannot exist except in connection with some center. You can't in most cases just break off a section and expect it to survive. Neither can most of such simple organisms grow indefinitely without any natural boundaries or shape.

Hence, if a sloburb is analogous to any living thing it must be, I think, to one of the myxomycetes or slime molds. These remarkable blobs, found especially in damp, rotting logs, have no shape, no characteristic size and no community center. They consist of an agglomeration of one-celled individuals without a trace of the differentiation characteristic of even the more primitive multicellular organisms. You may break one blob into a hundred pieces and each will prosper as satisfactorily as it did when it was part of a larger blob. Put the pieces into contact again and they will merge, much as the sloburbs spreading out from two communities merge when they meet. And given favorable conditions, the size of the blob grows and grows without there being any theoretical reason why it should not ultimately cover the earth. Such an eventuality might make a good horror movie. But no better than one that showed the whole face of America covered ultimately by one vast sloburb.

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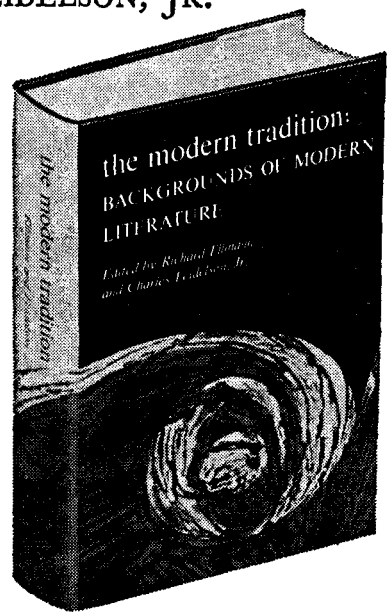

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Meditations on The Literature of Spying

JACQUES BARZUN

As I BEGIN these notes (midsummer 1964), the American public is making into best sellers two works of light literature: *Candy*[1] and *The Spy Who Came In From the Cold.*[2] The one is supposed to be a parody of the modern novel of sex; the other is held up as a really real realistic tale of modern spying; and there is evidence from conversation and printed comments that readers who usually scorn the best seller are giving these books their attention. I suspect that something important but unspoken links these two efforts and also attracts the consumer of so-called serious novels.

I do not know what that something is, but I do know that *Candy* and *The Spy* are dull and, under their respective cloaks of gaiety and of sobriety, affected. The point of *The Spy* is that he wants to quit but is impelled to go on by professional routine. This is enough, I imagine, to make him congenial to all of us. He does not believe in what he is doing; he is anything but a hero; he is a good deal of a masochist. And being a spy in the field, indeed a potential martyr to an unfelt cause, he entitles himself to certain low pleasures—despising his associates; having, skill apart, a poor opinion of himself; sinking morally and physically into degradation almost beyond control; falling in love listlessly, like a convalescent; and, after being betrayed in action by headquarters for double-cross purposes, making a sacrificial end. Death, we are to think, is the only "coming in from the cold" there is.

I am sure that this melodrama played in iron curtains corresponds to something older and deeper than our anxieties of the

✪ JACQUES BARZUN's most recent book is *Science: The Glorious Entertainment.* Mr. Barzun, who is a member of the Editorial Board of the SCHOLAR, is Provost of Columbia University.

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cold war. The soul of the spy is somehow the model of our own; his actions and his trappings fulfill our unsatisfied desires. How else explain the stir caused, also this past summer, by the death of Ian Fleming? Ten books about James Bond, published in a little more than ten years, do not justify the front-page laments, and even less the studies by academic critics who have argued over Fleming's morals and political philosophy. No, there is something here like earlier ages' recognition of themselves in the pioneer, the warrior, the saint or the poet. We are the spy—an agent, mind you, not a man—hiding behind the muffling zeros of 007 which mean: the right to kill *in the line of duty.*

The advertisers, who always know the color of our emotions, rely on our being good Bondsmen. Leafing through the *New Yorker,* I am told by a travel magazine: "Come to Beirut and see spies. Real spies . . . with shifty eyes and tiny cameras." In *Playboy,* cheek by jowl with a discussion of the "cultural explosion," I am invited to examine a dinner jacket and to "ask Agent 008, the one for whom survival often depends on the smallest detail." These hints play on the surface and suggest the depths. As technologists we love that tiny detail, that tiny camera. As infidels without purpose, we attach a morbid importance to survival. Yet our aplomb is restored by the possession of cosmetic virtue: with those faultless garments on, we would be content to let our eyes shift for themselves.

The spy story does this for us, then: it permits us not to choose, we can live high and lie low. Since Graham Greene no longer writes "entertainments," read Eric Ambler's *The Light of Day*[3] and see how the ironic title is brought down to mean simple survival for an outcast in a dirty raincoat with a mind to match. We are on his side, for as with the cold spy in his Skid Row phase, we relish the freedom that exists at the bottom of cities. And we know that in exchange for a few dirty tricks there is also power and luxury, cash and free sex. True, even James Bond marries while *On Her Majesty's Secret Service,*[4] but the wife mercifully dies within a few hours. They had been lovers, so all is well.

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The advantage of being a spy as of being a soldier is that there is always a larger reason—the reason of state—for making any little scruple or nastiness shrink into insignificance. But I want to leave the question of morality to a later place. At this point I am still curious about the satisfactions that the tale of espionage affords Western man in the afternoon of this century. As always in trashy literature, it is the satisfactions that produce the illusion of reality: man despising and betrayed, listless in his loves, dying pointlessly every second, scared, scared, scared—this is, if one may so speak, the life existential. But in the portraits and myths of that life what calms our fears is that dangers and difficulties yield to technique. The spy is imperturbable not by temperament or by philosophy, but from expertise. He is the competent man. Whether the need of the moment is to play bridge like Culbertson, speak a Finnish dialect like a native, ski to safety over precipices or disable a funicular, he comforts us with his powers no less than with the pedantry of the subject. He makes mistakes, of course, to keep us in countenance, but they are errors of inattention, such as killing the wrong man. We respond to this agreeable image of our scientific world, where knowledge commands power, where facts are uniformly interesting, and where fatalities appear more and more as oversights, professional *faux pas*. These results constitute the romance of the age; why should they not be translated into stories—spy stories especially, since what we know as science comes from ferreting and spying, and since we care so much for truth that we are willing to drug and torture for it?

One stumbles here on a preestablished harmony: the novel as a genre has been prurient and investigative from the start. Growing out of the picaresque adventure, which is high life seen from below stairs, the novel does not merely show, it shows up—and what a mountain of discreditable information it has unloaded into our eager minds! What pedantry! What snobbery! At first, simple encounters and reversals kept the reader going; lately it has been character and relationships; but it is all one: from Gil Blas to Henry James's "observer" somebody is always prying. From Scott to Dreiser we take a course in how some other half lives, how fraudulent men and their society really are. The novel is

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dedicated to subversion; the novelist is a spy in enemy country. No reason, then, to be surprised that his ultimate parable should be the tale with a declared, certified spy in it, one who like the original *picaro* sees society from below, and resentfully.

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Mr. Matthew Head, who has written a dozen good detective stories and whose name conceals a well-known art critic, gives in one of his books what might be called the moral strategy of the novel-bred mind. His archeologist hero confides that "the first thing I always wonder about new people is what they manage to do for a living and how they arrange their sex life, because it seems to me that those two activities plus sleep and a movie or two account for most people's twenty-four hours a day."[5] This is the brass-tacks appeal, and it goes well with our primitivism, our reliance on formulas, our fatigue at the thought of understanding "new people": there are so many of them, thanks to immoderate prenatal care.

And the wish to invade the privacy of sex gives a clue to the kinship I suspected between the two best sellers with which I began these notes: spying and pornography are related through the curiosity of the child about the mystery of sex. Perhaps the relentless curiosity of science has the same root; certainly our fiction does not neglect the fundamental needs, only the fundamental decencies. It neglects, that is, the difference between recognizing the demands of the body under the elaborations, softenings and concealments of civilized society and thinking that one is very sharp to have discovered them and made the rest negligible.

The genuine primitive has another ring to it. The *Iliad* is about "Helen and all her wealth"—money and sex if you will, but like other national epics it is also about war and the gods, human character and the sorrowful brevity of life. The novel is about malice domestic, and this is what ends by stunting our souls. I reread *Clarissa Harlowe* during a recent bout of illness, and I was shocked by the orgy of violence—of action, language, feeling—that it comes down to. The rape of Clarissa is only the fit gesture to symbolize the concentrated fury that animates all the characters

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—friend against friend; man against woman; parents, children, relatives against one another. All this hate, like a contagion, made me want to annihilate the lot.

The cold-spy, cold-war story presumably expresses and discharges the tension of violence under which we have lived since 1914. But that expression is rarely touched with regret or remorse. Only occasionally, as in William Haggard's story *The High Wire,*[6] is the theme in contradiction with the mode of life depicted. The main character here is a peaceable, middle-aged engineer who is catapulted into espionage and finds in it only horror, helplessness and torture. He manages to live and marry the heroine, an agent who is—or just has been, for purely professional reasons, of course —the mistress of an opposing agent: again, the true romance of our times. It almost makes one prefer the moral of Cyril Connolly's now famous parody of James Bond, in which 007 must in the line of duty impersonate a homosexual and finds—but the surprise ending must not be told.

An uncommonly deft practitioner, Hubert Monteilhet, gives us another singular version of this romance in *Return from the Ashes,*[7] which tells how a woman survivor from a concentration camp attempts to regain an old lover who may have betrayed her to the Gestapo. She has to turn spy, privately, to achieve her ends, and in so doing she destroys others as well as the hopeful part of herself. At one point she defines the embroidering of sentiment over brutality as "the work of a tragic Marivaux, one to suit this century." But why blame the century? Why are we told over and over again, as by Raymond Chandler in his masterpiece *The Lady in the Lake:* "Doctors are just people, born to sorrow, fighting the long grim fight like the rest of us"?[8] Or in reverse, by one of Chandler's imitators: "She was really a rather naive and inexperienced little girl. She apparently still believed in things like love and hate and gratitude and vengeance, not realizing that they had no place in this work, where your enemy one minute is your ally the next—and maybe your enemy again a few minutes later."[9] The speaker of this maxim, the tough spy Matt Helm, acknowledges that ours is "not a chivalrous age, nor is mine an honorable profession." The excuse, it appears, is necessity.

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Chandler's indestructible hero, Philip Marlowe, who crystallized a good many of these poses, declares: "However hard I try to be nice I always end up with my nose in the dirt and my thumb feeling for somebody's eye."

Obviously the reason why these things occur and are bewailed is the way men choose to take life, and modern men take life in the way of sophistication, that is, universal suspicion, hostility, fear of being taken in. People who read only "noteworthy" novels do not know how far the second- and third-hand fiction has copied and exploited the disillusioned stance of the masters. At times one could imagine that it was Somerset Maugham who had decanted into all the lesser works the sour wine from the great vintage casks: "His intelligence was obvious . . . he never quite gave himself away. He seemed to be on his guard. . . . those eyes were watching, weighing, judging, and forming an opinion [*sic*]. He was not a man to take things at their face value." This is Maugham's Dr. Saunders, the hero-observer of the well-named *Narrow Corner*.[10] To know in advance that everything and everybody is a fraud gives the derivative types what they call a wry satisfaction. Their borrowed system creates the ironies that twist their smiles into wryness. They look wry and drink rye and make a virtue of taking the blows of fate wryly. It is monotonous: I am fed up with the life of wryly.

❧

One reason for my annoyance is the contamination that the sophisticated and the spies have brought into the story of detection. Mr. Le Carré himself began with two attempts at the genre, in which his talent for situations is evident and any interest in the rationality of detection altogether missing. Under a surface likeness the purposes of spying and criminal detection are opposite: the spy aims at destroying a polity by sowing confusion and civil strife; the detective aims at saving a polity by suppressing crime. Thanks to our literary men we have been made so much at home with crime, we have found the spy's "unobserved shadow world which is nevertheless starkly real"[11] serving us so well as a sort of subconscious of society, that we readily agree with the head of the French Secret Police who said no man "could fully under-

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stand our age unless he had spent some time in prison."[11] Logic thus compels the writer to turn detective fiction into the domestic branch of espionage.

In consequence the murders that do not arise from the drug traffic arise from the enchanted realm of "security." And so an excellent story such as Val Gielgud's *Through a Glass Darkly*[12] seeks the solution to a London murder simply by turning inside out the lives of the wife, the friends and the business associates of the victim. In place of the classical observation and inference, there is snooping, which also obliterates action. Simenon's Maigret, whom many innocent readers take for a detective, is but a peeping Tom. He is praised for his patience in looking out of windows across a road, but his "psychology" is a mere offprint of Dr. Saunders': "He took an interest in his fellows that was not quite scientific and not quite human. . . . it gave him just the same amusement to unravel the intricacies of the individual as a mathematician might find in the solution of a problem."[10] In short: the mathematical interest that a Paris *concierge* takes in his lodgers and finds rewarded by the Sûreté.

The great illusion is to believe that all these impulses and enjoyments betoken maturity, worldliness, being "realistic." The truth is that Maugham's observer and the ubiquitous spy are bright boys of nine years. Nine is the age of seeking omniscience on a low level. The spy's ingenuity (why not ship the fellow in a trunk?), his shifting partisanship without a cause, like his double bluffs, his vagrant attachments, and his love of torturing and of being tortured are the mores of the preadolescent gang: they yield, as one storyteller puts it, "the joys of conspiracy—all the little thrills and chills that go with being secret and devious."[13] For adult readers to divert themselves with tales of childish fantasy is nothing new and not in itself reprehensible. What is new is for readers to accept the fantasy as wiser than civil government, and what is reprehensible is for the modern world to have made official the dreams and actions of little boys.

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There is a further sense in which the philosophy of the spy is childish: at the critical moments it does not work. On this point

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the authoritative theorist of espionage, an American agent who writes under the pseudonym of Christopher Felix, leaves us in no doubt. He tells us in his *Short Course in the Secret War* that "during World War II the German High Command had at least three reliable reports stating the date and place for the Allied invasion of Normandy," and believed none of them.[11] Again, the Russians had daily reports of German battle plans straight from headquarters, and disregarded them all. In the same happy vein of skepticism, Stalin disbelieved Richard Sorge's information from Tokyo that Germany would invade Poland in September 1939 and would attack Russia itself in April 1941.[14]

These failures supply their own moral, although not in the way a moralist would prefer. The moral is that nothing in this world can be accomplished without trust, however rudimentary. You cannot buy a box of matches without your entering into a tacit trust agreement with the tradesman to the effect that when you have handed him the coin he will hand you the box. Deception and ruthlessness are not "Machiavellian" wisdom as the vulgar think; they overshoot policy and recoil on the user. The modern spy, being sophisticated, works for both sides—a double agent—is therefore trusted by neither side and thus loses his only value. Similarly, in literature as in life, the double bluff wears out and can only be succeeded by the triple cross. It is an endless series in which agent and principal are both likely to lose their wits. Who is fooling whom and when? In the end, espionage modern style is like advertising: the participants deploy their gimmicks and make their shifty eyes at one another exclusively. The lack of *pragma* throughout is as shocking as the reckless expense.

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As for the game, one can understand why the reader and the spy relish the permissible depravity that goes with it. But why insist that the spy take sides and risk life without conviction? The only answer that suggests itself is that the lukewarm agent can avoid being torn between his conception of his own cause and the acts of his own party. No need to wonder why their enemies hanged Major André and Nathan Hale so reluctantly and unavoidably. Indeed, one need not go back as far as the American Revolu-

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tion to find out what preceded the universal loss of honor and conviction. From medieval chivalry to Elizabethan times, the spy was a "base fellow," known as such to others and to himself. This notion survived from then to within recent memory: when Henry Stimson, as Secretary of State, was shown the progress of code-breaking, he pushed the documents aside and said curtly: "Gentlemen do not read each other's mail." Now, we hear, every citizen has a democratic chance of serving as a spy. Housewives, students on their travels, foundation officials, merchants, scientists, exchange professors and visiting virtuosos are eligible. Only the *New York Times* protests, on the antiquated ground that duplicity may damage the once trustworthy professions.

The most that can be said in extenuation of the citizen-spy's bad taste is that it corresponds to the decline of a world system. The phases are: 1900, 1914, 1945. At the turn of the century, when Erskine Childers wrote *The Riddle of the Sands,*[15] no one could mistake the amateur spy for anything but a patriot, and the professional on the "wrong side" was partly excused by a mixed ancestry aggravated by private misfortune. Even after the *Götterdämmerung* of the First World War, John Buchan could make his hero pursue espionage and chivalry without a split psyche. If today *The Three Hostages*[16] were by a fluke to reach the screen, Richard Hannay would be hooted at by every thirteen-year-old of either sex. His soldierly attempt to save the life of his deadly enemy while chasing him across the scree and gorges of Scotland would seem puerile; and the valuing of every man in the tale, not by his ruthlessness, clothes, or sexual potency, but by the pain it causes him to be a spy, would be adjudged the improbable invention of a maiden aunt. This contrast in conduct and instinct reminds one of the fate of the old German army in the face of Hitler's shirts. This is but another way of saying that we live in times like those that led Thucydides to make one of his tyrants say to his victims: "We give you joy of your innocence, but covet not your silliness."

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But let us be careful. Let us not put this love of spying—one might almost say this love of dishonor—to the sole account of the

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dictatorships. It grows just as naturally in the soil of democracy; for it has something to do with equality and the confused emotions relating to class. Few people, no doubt, remember James Fenimore Cooper's early and internationally popular novel, *The Spy,* which dates from 1821. I had to refresh my vague memories of a French translation to find that Harvey Birch, the spy who mysteriously helps George Washington, was no hero but a frightened, mean and mercenary character. He was moved by patriotism, to be sure, but also by a restless envy. This was a shrewd insight of Cooper's. Kill the patriot by sophistication and what is left is the competitive egalitarian, the status-seeker powered by envy.

Out of envy and the will to arrive comes the whole apparatus of personal, industrial and governmental spying. Mr. Richard Rovere has written with justified passion about the multiform attack on privacy that implements this vast jealousy and fear. When no one can take his own merit and place for granted, no one can look upon the world with that "well-opened eye" which Conan Doyle ascribes to "a man whose pleasant lot it had ever been to command and be obeyed." Whatever bad things went with the system that produced such men—and these bad things are many—it did not lead to prying. The Henry Stimsons refrained from reading others' mail, not because they controlled an itch to do so, but because they were not interested. By contrast, the great democratic virtue is to be "interested in people," which undoubtedly fosters sympathy and helpfulness. But it also fosters mutual surveillance and social tyranny.

True, in Flaubert's *Dictionary of Accepted Ideas* the entry "Spy" reads: "Always in high society." But that is the spy of the Age of Reason, polite and cosmopolite, who comes historically between the base fellow and the modern Every Man His Own Secret Agent. E. Phillips Oppenheim gave the ultimate renderings of that delightful intermediate type, a suave habitué of the Orient Express and a willing prey to the svelte seductress whose prerogative it was to transfer the naval plans from his well-marked dispatch box to her bosom, no less well marked. Protocol required these trappings, and this too rested on presumption.

So far from presuming, the democratic character, for all its

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uneasy claims to equal rewards, is not quite sure of its own existence. Psychoanalysis has taught even the common man that he is in some ways an impostor; he has spied on himself and discovered reasons for distrust and disgust: in all honesty he cannot turn in a good report. Nor do his surroundings help to restore his confidence. The world is more and more an artifact, everywhere facsimiles supplant the real thing—the raucous radio voice, the weird TV screen. Just to find his bearings he must fashion a computer simulation of his case. So mimicry, pretending, hiding, which are part of the child's first nature and used to be sloughed off as true individuality developed, now stay with us as second nature, and indeed as the only escape from the bad self and the bad world. Or as a tough dick in a crude story tells another: A false name, a false address "gives them an immunity from the dreadful actuality of being themselves. . . . Perfectly respectable people, too."[17] Which is to say: for "privacy" read "secrecy."

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But I must close with literature, for heaven knows it is literature—the best and the worst—that our feelings have had to imitate in order to make our world what it is. The petering out of an era, the grubby romances of the envious and the blasé, mirror themselves in the mechanical moves, aggressive and sexual, of Candy and the Cold Spy. But there is more than one underground and one resistance, and here and there one hears echoes of Conrad's dictum that "it is conscience that illumines the romantic side of our life." Any other point of view, he goes on, is "as benighted as the point of view of hunger."[18] Thus in effect speaks also the late Arthur Upfield after some violent doings in the bush: "No, I tell you. It's loyalty. Only the basest of us are not actuated by loyalty."[19] And in a remarkable story to end all spy stories, that unfailing virtuoso Andrew Garve winds up a harrowing scene in which is disclosed a spy's lifelong deception of his daughter as to all his beliefs and all their circumstances, by saying: "I'd been *too* fair to Raczinski. No one had the right to do what he'd done to Marya —not for any reason on earth."[20]

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Humanistic Biology

RENÉ DUBOS

THE CONJUNCTION OF THE TWO WORDS "humanistic" and "biology" will probably seem artificial because very few scientists, and even fewer humanists, really believe that biological knowledge has relevance to the traits that account for the humaneness of man. Admittedly, biological determinants do not seem at first sight to play a significant role in the manifestations of life that are most characteristically human, for example, ecstasy, logic, or simply the experience of happiness and despair. Religious and ethical doctrines, philosophy, linguistics, literature, the arts, are part of the humanities because their problems obviously relate to the social and cultural history of man, but their connections with the biological attributes of *Homo sapiens* are not so readily apparent. "Man has no nature, what he has is history," wrote Ortega y Gasset.

While it is obvious that man is the product of his social and cultural history, it is equally certain, on the other hand, that everything he does is conditioned by his biological attributes. The performance of each human being, and of each human group, reflects biological necessities and propensities inherited from the evolutionary and experiential past. Human decisions create social and cultural history, but the raw materials of this edifice are derived from man's biological history.

It is always dangerous, of course, to use biological terminology and concepts in discussing human affairs. Half a century ago, the illustrious biologist Élie Metchnikoff published under the title *Études sur la Nature Humaine* a book in which he attempted to

✪ RENÉ DUBOS presented this seventh annual Phi Beta Kappa-Sigma Xi address before the American Association for the Advancement of Science in December, 1964. A professor in the Rockefeller Institute, Dr. Dubos is author of *Pasteur: Free Lance of Science, The Mirage of Health* and *The Dreams of Reason.* This lecture was written while he was a Fellow at the Center for Advanced Studies at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut.

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explain the properties of the human flesh and the manifestations of the human spirit in the light of the biological knowledge of his time. His English translator, the zoologist P. Chalmers Mitchell, found it difficult to convey the full meaning of the expression *Nature Humaine* in Metchnikoff's title. As he wrote in the preface to his translation, "*Human nature* is not an exact equivalent of *la nature humaine,* for the latter phrase has a more complete significance, and definitely implies, not only the mental qualities of man, but his bodily framework, with its inherited and acquired anatomical structure and body functions." Mitchell thought that *The Nature of Man* was a more accurate rendering of Metchnikoff's title than "Human Nature." In 1930, the American biologist H. S. Jennings also recognized implicitly the limitations of the phrase "human nature" when he qualified it as *The Biological Basis of Human Nature* in the title of a book that he devoted to "those aspects of experimental biology that are of most interest in considering the problems of human personality and society."

Throughout the present essay, I shall use the phrase "man's nature" instead of "human nature" to emphasize my conviction that the somewhat limited meaning implied in the English usage of "human nature" does not convey the depth and richness of the knowledge that biological sciences could bring to bear on cultural and social history. I shall attempt to show that the psychological and ethical attributes of man, and the preoccupations that constitute his humaneness, are inseparable from the physiological needs and urges that biological experience has inscribed in his flesh and bones. My theme is that better knowledge of man's nature would enlarge and deepen the understanding of man's history.

The doctrine of evolution has made it obvious that living organisms cannot be understood except in the light of their past. Surprisingly enough, however, the science of human biology has been little influenced by the historical outlook. The knowledge of man has progressed far, of course, since Descartes and his followers tried to base it on the study of the mechanical models with which they were familiar, but its most spectacular advances have been along the road first opened in the seventeenth century. There is an almost universal tendency to identify the "science" of man's

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nature with the physicochemical description of the body's structures and mechanisms, and with the laws that govern the transmission of its hereditary characteristics. Yet, human life clearly constitutes an experience far more complex than the phenomena that are encompassed by this limited approach; its dynamic processes constantly alter the physical and mental structure of man as he responds to the challenges of the natural environment and of the ways of life that he himself creates. The almost complete irrelevance of present-day biology to the humanities comes largely from the fact that it emphasizes the mechanical aspects of man's nature rather than his experiences; it is concerned more with his being than with his responding and becoming.

Increasingly during recent decades, the exact biological sciences have been focused on the phenomena that are common to all mammalian species and indeed to all living forms. This trend away from the special attributes that particularize human beings makes scientific biology appear even further remote from humanistic preoccupations. The kind of knowledge to which it leads throws very little light on the problems that are the primary concern of humanists, namely, the experiences of the throbbing human person in a particular culture. Yet, while they appear at first sight so coldly detached from living man, the findings of orthodox biological sciences have nevertheless profoundly influenced some of the largest philosophical expressions of modern humanism.

MAN IN THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING. The doctrine of evolution has influenced all aspects of modern culture by providing biological evidence for the social concept of historical change. Surprising as it may seem to us, it is only during modern times that the myth of eternal return has been displaced in the Western mind by the concept of progress, namely, the belief that the universe, and especially the world of men, are constantly moving toward states differing not only from those of the present, but also from anything in the past. Whatever its origins, the doctrine of progress did not become part of collective consciousness until the theory of biological evolution provided a scientific model for it.

Most enlightened persons now accept as a fact that everything in

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the cosmos—from heavenly bodies to human beings—has developed and continues to develop through evolutionary processes. The great religions of the West have come to accept a historical view of creation. Evolutionary concepts are applied also to social institutions and to the arts. Indeed, most political parties, as well as schools of theology, sociology, history or arts, teach these concepts and make them the basis of their doctrines. Thus, theoretical biology now pervades all of Western culture indirectly through the concept of progressive historical change.

One of the most practical contributions of biological science to sociology has been to provide a scientific basis for the ancient ethical and religious doctrines of the brotherhood of man, by demonstrating that all human beings belong to the same species. Comparative biology has revealed, furthermore, that man is linked to all living organisms through a common line of descent, and shares with them many characteristics of physicochemical constitution and of biological organization; the philosophical concept of the "great chain of being" can thus be restated now in the form of a scientific generalization. Even St. Francis' love of his brothers the beasts and the Hindu reverence for life can be regarded as the poetical, ethical and philosophical expressions of the biological law that all living forms exhibit a deep underlying unity even though they are so strikingly diverse.

Paradoxically, the very success of comparative biology and evolutionary doctrines in relating man to the rest of creation may have retarded the growth of knowledge concerning man himself. Since all living forms have so many characterisitcs in common, biologists and even medical scientists naturally tend to focus their investigative efforts on organisms that are simpler than man, and therefore easier to manipulate in the laboratory. This tendency is based on the widespread, although unproven assumption, that understanding of man will eventually emerge from detailed knowledge of the elementary structures and functions that occur in all living things. One of the deplorable consequences of this attitude is the common belief that the only fields of biology that deserve to be called "fundamental" are those that deal with the simplest manifestations of life, and preferably with *lifeless* reactions and

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structures derived from living things! Yet it is certain that such a limited approach is not sufficient to create a science of life, let alone of man.

Vague though they are, words such as "mind" and "emotion" nevertheless symbolize essential aspects of human life which cannot be related to isolated morphological structures, or formulated in physicochemical terms. Thus, some of the most interesting aspects of human life, and certainly the most influential, do not come within the purview of what is presently called "fundamental" biology. I hasten to emphasize that this statement does not imply surrender to hoary vitalistic theories. The failure to account at present for many cognitive and emotional aspects of human life does not come from inadequacy of knowledge concerning the universal aspects of life; it has its origin in the fact that the words "mind" and "emotion," as commonly used, cannot possibly refer to attributes located in fragments isolated from the body or associated with special chemical reactions. They denote activities of the integrated organism responding as a whole to external or internal stimuli. In consequence, the aspects of biological science that are most relevant to the interests of the humanist are probably those that deal with the response of individual human beings to their total environment. But information on this score becomes much more meaningful if seen in the light of man's evolutionary past.

Anthropological studies and evolutionary doctrines have suggested useful hypotheses concerning the progressive emergence of the physiological and behavioral characteristics that define each animal species and particularly *Homo sapiens*. Man, it now appears, was not yet fully evolved, either physically or mentally, at the time when he began creating the crude elements from which most of his culture derives. Recent evidence indicates that one million years ago very primitive hominids with brains hardly larger than those of anthropoids had reached the stage of tool-making. The further growth of the human brain apparently coincided with a progressive change in the hominid way of living. For example, when primitive man shifted from hunting small animals to big game hunting, this change required new skills in planning, in leadership and in communication—and this created selection

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pressure for the development of these capacities. Contrary to the old belief that men anatomically like ourselves slowly invented culture, it is probable, in other words, that the increase in the size of the human brain occurred simultaneously with the first phases in the unfolding of human culture. Man and his culture evolved simultaneously, as it were, through a complex series of feedback processes.

It seems a reasonable kind of science fiction to imagine that the first subhuman creature who used a tool thereby opened an evolutionary channel in which greater ability to use tools provided a selective advantage. Through analogous evolutionary mechanisms somatic changes and organization of reaction patterns followed upon the development of family structure and of practices for hunting in groups. Soon after, perhaps, the primitive forms of art, of religion, and even of "science" also played their part in affecting the development of neural processes and their integration. New reaction patterns thus became progressively molded on the ways of life, as the brain enlarged. And reciprocally, the ways of life evolved as the brain and its functions became better fitted to them and more complex.

The "higher" functions of the human brain probably result therefore from progressive structural-functional transformations giving rise to a system that permits the physiological and behavioral adaptation of man to his own culture. By necessity, of course, this adaptation cannot be perfect, since culture is continuously evolving. What is almost certain, however, is that the various components of human culture are now required not only for the survival of man, but also for his existential realization. Man created himself even as he created his culture and thereby he became dependent on it.

Another fact relating biological studies to humanistic problems is that the higher the position of an animal on the phylogenetic ladder, the more unpredictable is its behavior with regard to environmental stimuli. Up to the lower mammals, the emergence of relative independence from external influences can be correlated with the appearance of novel neural mechanisms, but no such anatomical substratum is yet known to account for the high degree of

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freedom exhibited by the higher mammals. Irrespective of explanation, however, it can hardly be doubted that man is the most evolved organism with regard to the degree of his independence from the direct effects of the physicochemical environment. One of the most profitable approaches to the definition of *Homo sapiens* might therefore be to describe the mechanisms through which his evolutionary ancestors have progressively increased their experiential independence, thus creating his biological identity. But I shall limit myself here to a few remarks concerning man as he exists today, or rather concerning his reactions with, and his responses to, the forces that impinge on him.

I have purposefully differentiated reaction from response because these two words symbolize in my view the two extreme ends of the wide spectrum of interplay between man and his environment. From one end of the spectrum, man appears as an ordinary physicochemical machine, complex, of course, but nevertheless reacting with environmental forces according to the same laws that govern inanimate matter. From the other end man is seen as a creature that is rarely a passive component in the reacting system; the most characteristic aspect of his behavior is the fact that he responds actively and often creatively. Man is able to shut out some of the stimuli to which he is exposed; he modifies others through symbolic and sociocultural mechanisms; most importantly, he can use the effects of stimuli to his own selected ends. All degrees of variation exist between the passive reactions with the environment and the creative responses through which the personality asserts itself. Man is the more human the better he is able to convert passive reactions into creative responses.

THE DIVINE MADNESS. The performance of any living organism in any given situation is conditioned, of course, by environmental forces. But its characteristics are determined by the potentialities and the limitations that the organism has acquired and retained through its evolutionary and experiential past. Admittedly, man often behaves as if he were completely independent of his biological history. However, while his outward behavior reveals so large a degree of freedom, the physiological reactions elicited in

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him by environmental and sociocultural forces appear to be very similar to those experienced by his paleolithic ancestors. His ancient needs and urges persist even when their overt manifestations are so masked or distorted that he himself is not aware of their existence. The survival of the paleolithic past in modern man accounts for many puzzling aspects of his responses to the total environment —for the pathological as well as the expressive and creative aspects of his behavior.

The extraordinary degree to which the physiological processes of human life are still linked to cosmic rhythms provides a striking illustration of the persistence of traits having their origin in man's evolutionary past. Modern man is wont to boast that he can control his external environment; he can indeed illuminate his rooms at night, heat them during the winter, and cool them during the summer; he can secure an ample and varied supply of food throughout the year. But even when he elects to follow unchangeable ways of life in an environment that appears uniform, all the functions of his body continue to fluctuate according to certain rhythms linked to the movements of the earth and of the moon with respect to each other and to the sun. His hormonal activities, in particular, exhibit marked diurnal and seasonal rhythms and probably other rhythms also linked to those of the cosmos.

All aspects of behavior are affected by physiological processes. Man's responses to any situation are different in the morning from what they are at night, and different in the spring from what they are in the autumn. The writers of Western stories are on a sound biological basis when they recount that the Indians always attacked at dawn, because the spirits of the white man were then at a low ebb. The wild imaginings of the night, and the fears that they engender, are indirectly the effects of the earth movements because the human organism readily escapes from the control of reason under the influence of the physiological changes associated with darkness. The lunar cycles are also reflected in the physiology and behavior of animals and probably therefore of man. It would not be surprising if the moon worshippers as well as the "lunatics" were really affected—as the words suggest—by lunar forces to which all of us are also sensitive.

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Seasonal changes, in any case, certainly affect most living things, including man, even when the temperature and illumination are artificially maintained at a constant level. In the most mechanized, treeless and birdless city, just as in the hills of Arcadia long ago, men and women perceive in their senses and reveal by their behavior that the exuberance of springtime and the despondency of late fall have origins more subtle than the mere change in temperature. It is for good biological reasons that Carnival and Mardi Gras are celebrated when the sap starts running up the trees, and that men commemorate their dead in late fall when nature is dying.

Thus, modern man in his sheltered environment continues to be under the influence of cosmic forces much as he was when he lived naked in direct contact with nature. Similarly, he continues to react physiologically to the presence of strange living things, and especially of human competitors, as if he were in danger of being physically attacked by them. The fight and flight response, with all its deep physiological accompaniments, is a biological carry-over from the time when the survival of primitive man encountering a wild animal or a human stranger depended upon his ability to mobilize the body mechanisms that enabled him to engage in physical struggle or to flee.

Man, on the other hand, evolved as a social animal, and he can neither fully develop, nor function normally, except in association with other human beings. All social stimuli express themselves in the forms of phenomena which in their turn condition the response to the life situations that had evoked them. Thus, crowding, isolation, challenge of any sort have effects that have their origin in the evolutionary past, and tend to imitate the kind of response that was then favorable for biological success—even when such a response is no longer suitable to the conditions of the modern world. Many aspects of human behavior that appear incomprehensible, or even irrational, become meaningful when interpreted as survivals of attributes that were useful when they first appeared during evolutionary development and that have persisted because the physical evolution of man came to a sudden halt about one hundred and fifty thousand years ago. Phenomena ranging all the

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way from the aberrations of mob psychology to the useless disturbances of metabolism and circulation that occur during verbal conflicts at the office or at a cocktail party are as much the indirect expressions of the distant biological past as they are the direct consequences of the stimuli that were their immediate causes.

The urge to control property and to dominate one's peers are also ancient biological traits which can be recognized in the different forms of territoriality and dominance among most if not all animal societies. Animal behavior provides prototypes of the lust for political power, independently of any desire for financial or other material rewards, which is so common among men. Even the play instinct and certain kinds of aesthetic expression correspond to derivative but nevertheless important biological needs which exist in one form or another in animal species and which have probably always been part of man's nature.

These biological characteristics and many others that cannot be mentioned here are woven in the very fabric of the human race, and they condition all aspects of human behavior. Unfortunately, they have been grossly neglected by biologists. This neglect is the result of the historical accident that scientific biology has been identified from its very beginning with the concept that the body is a complex but otherwise ordinary machine, and that detailed analysis of its elementary structures and energy mechanisms is the only valid approach to the understanding of the living organism. Such an attitude has discouraged the scientific study of the biological problems that do not lend themselves to the reductionist analytic methods now in vogue among experimental scientists. In particular, it has inhibited the study of the biological phenomena that are the consequence of the organism's evolutionary history—for example, the manifestations of the ancient urges that do not come readily to the surface under the conditions of civilized life, or the effect of the season and the hour of the day on the reactions elicited by physicochemical stimuli and various life situations.

Yet, numerous observations have now established that the oscillations in physiological and mental processes affect all activities of the organism, and even the efficacy of therapeutic procedures. The orthodox reductionist approach is not suitable for the study

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of these phenomena because biological clocks, like the mind, disappear when the organism is dissected into its lifeless component parts. In fact, the most important problems of life can be recognized only when the organism responds actively to its environment as an integrated unit. Interestingly enough, space research is at present creating a wave of interest in topics as earthy as the effects on man of the tides, the seasons and the diurnal cycles. Just as rockets and satellites are giving new importance to celestial mechanics, so does the prospect of space travel call attention to the potentialities and constraints that are the consequences of biological rhythms.

Philosophers, writers and artists have always been acutely aware of the immense role played by occult biological processes in human life. In *Phaedrus,* Socrates speaks with passion of the creative forces released in man by the "divine madness." The text of the dialogue makes it clear that the word "madness" as used by Plato refers not to pathological mental states, but rather to those deep biological attributes of man's nature that are almost beyond the control of reason and transcend its reach. These attributes remain concealed under the usual circumstances of ordinary life, but they constitute the most powerful sources of inspiration for the scientist as well as the artist. Creativity depends in part on the ability to hear "the voice of the deep" and to tap resources from regions of man's nature that have not yet been explored.

Nietzsche was referring to innate forces analogous to Socrates' divine madness when he wrote in *The Birth of Tragedy* that the Dionysian inspiration is a necessary complement of the Apollonian order. In fact, as shown by Eric R. Dodds in *The Greeks and the Irrational,* ancient civilizations were aware of the existence of these powerful biological needs of man's nature that are not clearly perceived and thus appear irrational. They symbolized the occult passions—the divine madness—by a ferocious bull struggling against reason.

Empirically all over the world, social practices have been developed to let these occult forces manifest themselves under somewhat controlled conditions. The Dionysian celebrations, the Eleusinian mysteries and many other myths and rituals served as re-

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lease mechanisms for biological urges which could not find an otherwise acceptable expression in the rational aspects of Greek life; even Socrates participated in the Corybantic rites. Needless to say, such ancient traditions still persist even in the most advanced countries of the Western world, although often in a distorted form. Even when man has become an urbane city dweller, the paleolithic bull that survives in his inner self still paws the earth whenever a threatening gesture is made on the social scene. The passions depicted by classical tragedies have their roots deep in the paleolithic past.

EXPERIENTIAL INNOCENCE. All human beings have fundamentally the same anatomical structure, function through the same chemical activities, exhibit the same physiological manifestations, and even possess the same occult biological needs; yet no two human beings are alike. Clearly knowledge of the attributes that are common to mankind as a whole is not sufficient to account for the manner in which each individual person behaves as he does, develops his own pecularities, in brief, becomes different from all other human beings. Since man's sense of discreteness is among his most cherished and most pronounced characteristics, the failure of theoretical biology to emphasize the uniqueness of individual human beings contributes to its lack of influence on the humanities.

Individual persons differ, of course, by reason of the fact that they do not have the same genetic makeup; only identical twins are alike genetically. But at least equally important is the fact that the individual characteristics of human beings are constantly being shaped and modified by environmental factors which endlessly vary with time, differ from one place to the other, and therefore are never the same for two different persons. Recent studies have confirmed the ancient knowledge that many characteristics of the adult result from the effects of so-called "early influences," namely of those environmental factors that impinge on the organism during early life, while he is still developing. Such formative effects can take place even *in utero*. For example, even though the Dionne quintuplets were genetically identical, they could be differentiated shortly after birth, probably because their different positions dur-

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ing intrauterine life had differentially affected their development. Prenatal and early postnatal influences can affect almost every trait—from nutritional needs and rates of growth, to learning ability and emotional attitudes. Moreover, the effects of early influences are so deeply rooted in the biological structure of the person involved that they often and perhaps always persist throughout his whole life span.

Environmental influences shape personality through two different groups of mechanisms. On the one hand, they determine certain patterns of response which can affect all manifestations of behavior. Physiologists, psychologists, psychiatrists and novelists have described each in his own way a seemingly endless variety of conditioned responses ranging from the imprinting of ducks by early association with a foreign object or the salivation of dogs at the sound of a bell, to the pathological effects of the Freudian complexes or the remembrance of things past evoked by a madeleine dipped into a cup of tea. The widespread belief in the existence of an all-embracing and lasting biological memory is symbolized by Tennyson's statement in "Ulysses," "I am a part of all that I have met."

On the other hand, environmental influences contribute also to the shaping of the personality by interfering with the acquisition of new experiences. Ideally, man should remain receptive to new stimuli, new events and new situations in order to continue developing mentally. But in fact, the aptitude to apprehend the external world with freshness of perception commonly becomes saturated as the mind and senses become conditioned by repeated experiences.

The environmental influences that are ubiquitous in a given geographical, national or social group naturally tend to bring out many characteristics that are common to all members of the group. For this reason, there is much truth in Emerson's statement that "We resemble our contemporaries more than our progenitors." But environmental influences also affect each person in an individual manner, even when the ways of life appear uniform in a standardized environment. Genetic uniqueness makes for differences in response and consequently in mental and physical development;

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furthermore, each one of us lives as it were in a private world of his own.

Human beings thus perceive the world, and respond to it, not through the whole spectrum of their potentialities, but only through the areas of this spectrum that have been made functional by environmental influences, especially the early ones, and that are not blocked by inhibitory mechanisms. I have intentionally formulated this problem in very general and consequently vague terms, because the word potentiality is meant here to denote the whole range of the organism's genetic endowment, in both its physical and mental expressions. The life experiences determine what parts of this endowment become expressed in the form of functional attributes.

In obscure ways, the kind of creation associated with the word genius must be related to the developmental processes that determine the manner in which the mind responds to external stimuli. Whether it manifests itself by revealing heretofore unrecognized aspects of reality, or by making new patterns out of facts already known, creativity often involves the ability to contemplate the world with a holistic and unconditioned attitude. Complete receptivity, however, is the prerogative of childhood, and of the few privileged adults who have retained or recaptured the directness of perception and experiential innocence that enable them to perceive "things as they are." Hence, the deep biological truth of Baudelaire's arresting and visionary image *"Le génie, c'est l'enfance retrouvée."* Genius is childhood recaptured.

Unfortunately, it appears that the knowledge acquired through the practice of daily life or by systematic learning must often be paid by loss of ability for truly original creation. Brancusi's statement that "when we are no longer young, we are already dead" expresses the cruel but inescapable truth that the mature stages of life are often encumbered with traditional and conventional attitudes that interfere with the receptivity for new experiences. The fact that the human personality tends to "set" with age suggests some functional "rigidification" of the potential ability for continual progressive changes in the engrams stored in the brain—as if there were sharp limitations to the experiential life span. Thus,

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one of the great problems of biology is to determine whether the effects of early influences are truly irreversible, as ordinary experience seems to show, or whether they can be erased partially at least, as a few animal experiments suggest.

Electrophysiological studies have revealed that the activity of neural processes in the brain is continuous, and that the effect of stimuli is to give form to the activity going on, rather than to arouse inactive tissue. These findings, as well as the knowledge that sensory deprivation commonly results in a transient disintegration of the personality, seem to suggest that ways may be found to prevent or retard the "setting" of personality so that man's body does not outlive the better of his mental faculties. In practice, however, the only evidence suggesting that the mind can be reshaped has come, tragically, from brainwashing or confessions of political guilt and, more hopefully, from certain forms of religious conversions.

The loss of experiential innocence during childhood is of course inevitable and is indeed a *sine qua non* of mental and emotional growth. But what matters is the kind of experience through which innocence is lost because this determines in large measure the shaping of the personality. The ancient dream of the Fountain of Youth might acquire a new and richer meaning if an acceptable technique could be developed to reestablish a state of receptivity in the fully developed and conditioned organism. Recapturing childhood, in Baudelaire's sense, implies reacquiring the ability for direct apprehension of the external world. It would be the surest approach to a true enlargement of human life.

MAN CREATES HIMSELF. The fundamental biological nature of man has not changed since late paleolithic times. The same arrangement of twenty thousand pairs of genes still controls his physical development and his physiological reactions; the implements he made during the Stone Age still fit his hands; the ancient drives that shaped his cultural evolution are still operative; the rituals and symbolic representations that he performed in the paleolithic caves are still meaningful to him. But while *Homo sapiens* has remained essentially the same, the manifestations of his

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life, and the structure of his societies, are endlessly changing, never repeating themselves identically. The permanency comes from the nature of the raw materials out of which human beings are made, the change from the creative responses that man makes to the challenges of his total environment. To live is to function, which means to respond.

Biological science has been immensely successful in describing the structures and mechanisms that constitute living *things,* and through which they operate. But it has contributed much less to the knowledge of man as a functioning organism. Yet the human condition cannot be dealt with scientifically unless a systematic effort is made to describe and analyze the pattern of responses that man makes to all the stimuli that impinge on him. For it is precisely this pattern that defines the human condition. In my judgment, such knowledge could be acquired if biologists elected to devote to the study of the living experience as much skill and energy as they have devoted to the description of the body machine. Fortunately, they can undertake this task with the confidence that they will find in the animal kingdom experimental models for many of the most interesting problems of human life.

The paradox is that while man unquestionably occupies a unique place in creation, his responses to environmental stimuli have their counterparts in the life of one or another animal species. Man's physiological urges, including the need to play, are common aspects of animal life in nature; most of his social activities and organizations are also represented in the different types of animal communities; even the ability to express attitudes and desires through symbolic sounds, postures, objects and other representations is widespread among animals. Furthermore, it has been clear ever since Kropotkin published his book, *Mutual Aid, A Factor in Evolution,* that social attitudes arising from biological necessities can evolve into ethical principles. In brief, it will probably be possible to find somewhere in the living world experimental models suitable for the study of many aspects of human life.

While models are useful and indeed essential for the scientific analysis of particular problems, they cannot, however, provide a complete knowledge of man. Models never truly represent na-

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ture. This limitation is not peculiar to the knowledge of man, or of other living organisms; it applies also to inanimate nature as well. On this score, I shall content myself with quoting statements made by Eugene P. Wigner in Stockholm when he accepted the Nobel Prize for physics in 1963:

> Physics does not endeavor to explain nature. In fact, the great success of physics is due to a restriction of its objectives: it only endeavors to explain the regularities in the behavior of objects. This renunciation of the broader aim, and the specification of the domain for which an explanation can be sought, now appears to us an obvious necessity. In fact, the specification of the explainable may have been the greatest discovery of physics so far.
>
> The regularities in the phenomena which physical science endeavors to uncover are called the laws of nature. The name is actually very appropriate. Just as legal laws regulate actions and behavior under certain conditions but do not try to regulate all actions and behavior, the laws of physics also determine the behavior of its objects of interest only under certain well-defined conditions but leave much freedom otherwise.

The word freedom as used by the physicist has a meaning that is very different, of course, from the one it has when applied to human affairs. Nevertheless, even though the analogy is only formal, I shall use it in an attempt to state my faith concerning the kind of contribution that scientific biology can make to the humanities. First, however, I must emphasize that the biological information discussed in the preceding pages was not intended to give an account of the living throbbing man whom the humanist tries to apprehend and the artist to express. Its role was only to describe the raw materials out of which man creates himself, through a continuous series of personal decisions. A few remarks concerning the plastic arts will serve to illustrate my view of the manner in which man's ability to choose and decide determines and limits the relevance of biological knowledge to the humanities.

The paintings, statues, engravings and other artifacts found in paleolithic sites leave no doubt that the faculty for artistic expression is very ancient; indeed, it does not seem to have improved with regard either to acuity of perception or to skill in representation over the past twenty thousand years. There is consequently every reason to believe that the ability to perceive and to represent

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corresponds to deeply seated physiological attributes of man's nature. This aesthetic faculty is probably analogous to that which makes animals perform movements or build nests that have intrinsic harmony. Certain colors clash or certain elements in a drawing appear to be out of proportion, when the experience of them conflicts with some built-in set of relationships in our own organs. In contrast, we would not be pleased with the way certain things look unless our organs and senses were so constituted as to be in harmony with the proportions and rhythms associated with these things. Whether the manner in which the senses or organs respond to certain patterns has a purely genetic basis, or is the product of conditioning influences, is irrelevant here. The point I want to convey is that aesthetic consciousness depends on innate faculties which are biological in essence and which do not seem to have progressed since paleolithic times.

The ability, however, to perceive and to represent is not sufficient by itself to create works of art; other factors are involved that fall outside the realm of the biological sciences. While human beings respond to their environment through their biological attributes, they do not react passively as if they were but mechanical intermediaries in stimulus-response couplets. The artist's response is not mechanical, nor even simply motivated by the need to cope with the environment. It constitutes rather an expressive behavior in which the artist uses the environment for the purpose of self-actualization.

The act of artistic creation thus provides a convenient example to illustrate the role of human choices in willing a certain course of action among the possibilities of dealing with external nature through the needs, drives and urges that are inherent in man's nature. Similarly, all other aspects of human life present opportunities for active intervention on the part of man—the creature who can choose, eliminate, assemble, decide and thereby create.

As is well known, man has now the technical means to transform his life and himself by manipulating his environment, as well as his physiological and mental processes; soon he may even be able to alter somewhat his genetic makeup. The powers of action generated by scientific advances are so great that the classical discussions on the ideals of the good life now take on very practical

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meaning. Mankind—that is to say—*we* shall find ourselves drifting aimlessly toward a state incompatible with the maintenance of the humanistic values from which we derive our uniqueness, unless we formulate goals worthy of the human condition, and are willing to take a stand at the critical time. This kind of freedom is the final criterium of humaneness. In the words of Paul Tillich, "Man becomes truly human only at the moment of decision."

Values and goals naturally involve choices and decisions. But the more deeply human life is influenced by technology, the more essential it becomes that these choices and decisions be made in the light of the proper kind of biological knowledge. Man's nature constitutes such a highly integrated system that it cannot be altered safely except within rather narrow limits. Unconsciously, the writers of science fiction acknowledge this fact when they make the human beings who function in an automated world or travel in spacecraft continue to behave as if they were in a boy scouts' camp or in lovers' lane.

Since radical changes in human life are excluded by biological limitations, imaginings based on limited concepts of the body machine, or on the hope of technological breakthroughs, are of little use in defining what the ideal man should be. The glory of the coming age must be conceived within the framework of man's nature—of his biological limitations as well as potentialities.

IN CONCLUSION. In the very process of responding to environmental stimuli, each individual human being creates his physical and mental personality from the biological attributes that are shared by all men. Human societies and cultures emerged from the progressive integration of these responses.

While the outward manifestations of behavior are governed by the values and rules of each social group, inwardly man continues to react to his environment in much the same way that he did in the distant past, through the very same physiological mechanisms that he has retained from his evolutionary development. These ancient biological attributes express themselves in the form of reactions that are often unsuited to the modern world and are therefore the cause of difficulties; but on the other hand they also constitute a source of inspiration for creative endeavors.

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Individual human beings differ not only in their genetic endowment, but also by reason of the stimuli to which they have been exposed in early life, both prenatal and postnatal—which give them an experiential uniqueness. These early influences shape the physical and mental characteristics by stimulating into activity certain parts of the genetic endowment, and also by inhibiting the expression of others. The extent to which a person has retained the ability to apprehend the external world in an unconditioned manner, and to respond to it in his own way, probably plays a large part in his creativeness.

The role of the biologist is to study the raw materials of man's nature and the mechanisms through which each person uses them to create his own experiential individuality. This role is becoming of increasing importance as human life becomes more deeply influenced by technology and therefore more remote from man's evolutionary experience.

By adding to the knowledge of man's biological nature, science could help the humanist to understand better the human condition, and to define the good life. Unfortunately, while biological sciences have been immensely successful in describing the elementary structures and processes of the body machine, they have tended to neglect the study of living as experience. Indeed, it is commonly stated that biology has lost contact with the humanities because it has become too "scientific" and as a consequence no longer deals with the problems peculiar to the humaneness of man. There is no doubt, of course, about the loss of contact, but the explanation of the difficulty in my judgment is that biology is not scientific enough.

By neglecting the study of a large variety of man's responses, biology is betraying one of the responsibilities of science—namely, the development of objective methods for describing all aspects of reality. Today, as in the past, the most compelling and interesting problems of human life come from the manner in which man reacts passively, and responds creatively, to the challenges of his total environment. Biology will once more become a complementary aspect of the humanities if it accepts the urgent social task to provide knowledge of the raw materials of experience out of which man creates himself.

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The Cell of Himself

ARTHUR FREEMAN

"Fermons nos coeurs à double tour"

In the middle of the night in the next room
a man who is no friend of mine cries out,
struggling with sleep; it is a nightmare.
It is not my nightmare. We share nothing
but the awareness of each other through one wall,
the groan of a drain, an occasional involuntary
outcry, and no more. We want no more.
We could be happier with less.

And there are others like us, billeted
all over the impartial city
in similar honeycombs at the same rates,
keeping apart for the particular reason
that no reason binds us, silhouettes
of habit, ghosts of motion. Nothing remains
of what is laudable in each but noise
to alien ears which value absence best.

And ultimately more who have cast off
proximity like mooring, and float free
of the contiguities we suffer by.
Wax in a window may consume itself
for them, but they are admirably gone,
past echo and sight; and if the piled
horizon whitens them no unbroached shores,
sea will suffice, and they will bear with sea.

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And I would have it no way else: no smile
extracted on the stair, no hesitant
exchange, no names. Drains are enough.
The intimacy each man may cultivate
with his own cloudy mirror does for me,
and when that image grates on the dry sight,
let me acquaint myself with anyone
but this, whose dreamt fright arrogates my sleep.

Now it is four, my clock walks heavily.
I hear him settling, reassured, to rest,
with a clear mind and a diminished pulse.
But I lie now wide-eyed in the grey light
continuing his dream like a disease
my mind made welcome when his cast it out.
My cry caught in my throat, while the thin walls
thicken like distance, I am most alone.

✪ ARTHUR FREEMAN is a Junior Fellow in the Society of Fellows at Harvard University. He is nearing completion of a second collection of his poems. His first collection is titled *Apollonian Poems.*

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So That It Flower

MELVILLE CANE

To heed the flash and speed the leap
Out of the dark, designless deep,
And shield the intrinsic, undefined,
From the perversions of the mind,
And warm the seed with sacred care,
And nurse the seed with love and prayer,
So that it flower, pure and fair.

✪ MELVILLE CANE's seventh volume of poetry, *To Build a Fire,* has been recently published by Harcourt, Brace and World.

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Dixie Looked Away

SAM RAGAN

SOUTHERNERS, W. J. Cash contends in *The Mind of the South,* are given to rodomontade, which in less highfaluting terminology means that they like to rant and rave on any number of subjects, especially politics.

This penchant for rodomontade came into full flower last November 3 when the five Black Belt states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana gave their electoral votes not so much to the Republican party as to Barry Goldwater. Moreover, their overwhelming vote for the Arizona Senator was not so much for the man as for the symbol. On this symbol these Deep South voters could hang their protest to a phrase, the phrase of "civil rights," which embodied not only frustrations but the angers they generated.

States' rights, conservatism and other vague terms in the political arsenal of oratory may be superficially cited as reasons for the people in these Southern states to reverse a pattern of several generations and bolt the party of their fathers and grandfathers and vote Republican. But none of them will stand serious probing. The reason for the bolt, pure and simple, was the race issue.

In the weeks of general campaigning before the election there was, to be sure, much ranting and raving. But there was also the quiet conviction on the part of hundreds of thousands that in voting for Barry Goldwater they were voting for the preservation of the white race. This conviction may, of course, have been wrapped in the shibboleth of states' rights, along with real or fancied

✪ SAM RAGAN is executive editor of the *News and Observer* and the *Raleigh Times,* Raleigh, North Carolina. In 1964 he served as national president of the Associated Press Managing Editors Association. A special lecturer on contemporary issues at the University of North Carolina in Raleigh, he is the author of *The Tree in the Far Pasture* and *The New Day,* as well as numerous articles on politics and literary subjects.

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fears of communism, a label easily attached to everything not fully meeting final approval. There may have been, too, a genuine distrust of big government, as represented by Lyndon B. Johnson. But to them the too rapid advance of the Negro into formerly lily-white fields was at the root of their reasons for revolt.

In their hearts they knew they were right.

It was a protest vote, a protest described by a college professor in one of the Deep South states as "a last gasp." The slide to Goldwater was interpreted as the final fling of standpat racists in a partisan political sense. Indeed, the professor felt that getting it out of their system, coupled with the national landslide for Johnson, will speed changes in beliefs and attitudes in those Southern states.

This feeling is shared by Governor Terry Sanford, who went out of office in January after seeing his state of North Carolina vote overwhelmingly for Johnson. It is Sanford's belief that Southern Democrats will give increasing support to measures "dealing with human resources and welfare." The longtime coalition between Southern Democrats and conservative Republicans, which "frustrated all sorts of social legislation," is near an end. There are now, Sanford says, no more than a dozen Southern Democrats in Congress with "demagogic records," and that he believes is "about average for any region."

Sanford may be right in his prediction. For even at the last session of Congress there was widespread support among Southern congressmen for such welfare programs as aid to Appalachia, aid to higher education, and the general war-on-poverty program. There were even pickups in the votes for the medicare proposal.

But even admitting the undeserved Claghorn image of the South in the recent past, one need not be an apologist for the South to point out that the bulk of the social welfare legislation now on the statute books was pushed through Congress by Southern congressmen. One needs only to read the record of the New Deal days of Roosevelt to see the validity of this statement. To go farther back to the turn of the century and on into the Wilson era one can find the Southern label on much social legislation once condemned as socialistic but now accepted as a democratic necessity. To cite one example is to call to mind the denunciation accorded Tom Wat-

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son's bill to establish rural free delivery of the mail. Poor Tom Watson of Georgia. He is remembered now only in a very fine watermelon to which he gave his name. The Populist spirit that fired him to promote programs of public welfare died in the bitterness of racism that engulfed him, and so many like him in the South.

Even with Terry Sanford's dozen demagogues in the South, there is none today of the likes of Watson, of Bilbo, of Vardaman or of red-gallused Gene Talmadge. Alabama's Governor Wallace, who sought to launch a white backlash in the North—a backlash on which Barry Goldwater appeared at times to stake his all—is a pale copy of his predecessors. When he stood in the doorway and then walked away as the University of Alabama was desegregated under Federal order, even his followers knew that it was a futile gesture.

Changes in attitudes were already apparent before that last gasp of protest. Compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, so long and futilely fought in the Congress by Southern congressmen, had come quite easily in the South. There were still protests, of course, but even the protests declined to a murmur after such respected leaders as Senator Richard Russell of Georgia pointed out that the Civil Rights Act was now the "law of the land" and must be obeyed. Even before the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the public accommodations section of the Act, LeRoy Collins, the former governor of Florida who is now head of the Act's Community Relations Service, felt that compliance and acceptance would be easier, and ultimately race relations would be better in the South than in other regions.

Still the Act and the defeat it symbolized of Southern practices and traditions served as a rallying point for Southern angers and frustrations in the election of last November 3. But it was only a point in a long path winding back into a history that created that newfangled phrase known as "the Southern mystique."

There are students of this Southern mystique—Phillips Russell of Chapel Hill among them—who insist that to understand the Southern political revolt of last November one has to read the works of three Southern writers: W. J. Cash, C. Vann Woodward and Jonathan Daniels. From their books, Russell says, one can find the answer to the questions of what kept the five Southern states

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out of step with the other six children of the old Confederacy, and why they wrapped themselves in a mantle of aloofness and isolated themselves from a torrent going in one direction.

Cash's *Mind of the South* is a classic, reprinted many times, to which one must turn to understand Southern life and culture. It is Cash's contention that the paradoxes of vices and virtues within the Southern makeup—the virtues of individualism, independence and hospitality and the vices of violence and suspicion of outsiders—contribute to an ambivalence that can lead the Southerner to unreasoned recklessness. This is made easier by a tendency "toward unreality, toward romanticism, toward hedonism."

Woodward believes that the South feels isolated because it has never had a part in "the American success story." Southern history, he says, "includes large components of frustration, failure and defeat."

Jonathan Daniels in *A Southerner Discovers the South* cites the changes wrought by the machine, changes that drove many from the South to Northern cities, and the poverty that remained in the region. "The Yankee was ready to end slavery," he wrote, "but he was not ready to make freedom."

All three writers cite economic factors as causes for Southern resentments, and it is worth noting that the five Deep South states that went for Goldwater are among the dwellers at the bottom of the national ladder in per capita income. They may have, as Russell says, kept their gaze turned backward and "sought not to do, but undo," but there should be no denying of their convictions, or lack of understanding of the background in which those convictions were rooted. Nor should it be overlooked that six other Southern states stayed in the American mainstream and cast their votes for Johnson, despite racial sentiments not very far removed from those in the Deep South or, indeed, in Northern metropolitan areas, for other reasons—reasons common to the union as a whole.

Those reasons may be summed up in the Democratic party's campaign slogan of "peace and prosperity." There is no denying the economic upswing that gave sanction to the prosperity theme. And there is no denying that, rightly or wrongly, Barry Goldwater was tagged with the "trigger-happy" label that made a majority of Americans fearful of his abilities to maintain peace.

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There was also his attitude toward social welfare programs, centered in large measure on Social Security, and neatly phrased by a California housewife who said that she was voting for Johnson because "Barry Goldwater doesn't know my mother-in-law." By that she meant that if it weren't for Social Security her mother-in-law would be living in her household, and that was something less than desirable.

In fact, there were times when it seemed that Goldwater went out of his way to lose votes. Such instances as his attack on T.V.A. in Chattanooga, and on Social Security in that haven of the senior citizens, Orlando, Florida, led Richard Rovere to conclude in a *New Yorker* report on the campaign that there was something almost Freudian in the Goldwater pursuit of defeat.

"There were times, travelling with Goldwater," Rovere reported in early October, "when one wondered whether the candidate really thinks of himself as a man seeking the Presidency of the United States. . . . Most of the time he seems to be a man serious in intent, with extremely serious followers who feel that they are engaged in extremely serious and important work. It is unlikely that Goldwater would go around the South agitating the most brazen of its racists if he did not think that this means was justified by some noble end. Still, the whole enterprise has the air not of a great political campaign but of a great political caper—a series of pranks and calculated error. . . . Right or wrong, he seemed to be under some compulsion to damage his own cause even in the South."

Before this report there were sufficient indications for an objective observer to ask if Barry Goldwater really wanted to be President. There was the time, for instance, when he arrived at the Raleigh airport shortly before midnight to find a cheering crowd of nearly a thousand supporters. Instead of dashing out to greet them and fire them into even greater fervor, he complained to his campaign workers that it was bedtime and he was tired, and he went out and told the crowd that it was also time they went home and to bed. In talks at Raleigh and in Charlotte his statements were delivered in an apathetic monotone. County chairmen of his party went away grumbling that he had not stirred party workers to the enthusiastic pitch necessary to make them work harder.

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The same complaint was voiced in other parts of the country. The written speeches contained the fiery words, the startling statements, even incitements and inflammatory rhetoric, but they were delivered from the platform in an indifferent and almost genial manner. He would say that he knew something was troubling his listeners, something he couldn't put his finger on, but that he and Bill Miller would do something about it. He never did find out what that mysterious something was that was troubling his followers. He really didn't have to, for the hard-core followers needed no answer other than that he was against what they were against, whatever that might be. Nor was it necessary to give more zeal to the zealots who already were in his camp. They had made an impressive showing in 1960 at the convention that nominated Richard Nixon, and they had taken him at his word then when he gave the call to arms with the words: "Let's grow up, conservatives. If we want to take this party back, and I think we can someday, let's get to work." They got to work, and diligently organized, precinct by precinct, in sufficient states to carry to San Francisco enough Goldwater-committed delegates to nominate the Senator, even before he captured the California primary.

As the campaign moved on, however, Goldwater isolated himself more and more from not only the public but his own followers. He declined to meet with reporters. In fact, he did not hold a single press conference between Labor Day and Election Day. Undoubtedly, this was part of the "strategy," and the strategists could answer that it was futile to hold a press conference because the "press" wouldn't truthfully report what he said anyway. But closer to the reason was the statement of one upper-echelon Goldwater supporter after the election, who pungently put it in these terms, "Every time Barry opened his mouth he made a damn fool of himself."

That was, perhaps, expressing it too strongly. Still it is true that in other parts of the country regular Republicans were downright unhappy with the Goldwater pitch for Southern votes on racial grounds. Many winced at his words when he spoke against the minimum wage, the unions, the Supreme Court, Social Security, and the war on poverty. They winced and they fled. In a postelection survey Dr. George Gallup found that twenty percent

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of regular Republicans left their party to support President Johnson.

The Gallup Poll found that, while for the first time in the party's one-hundred-year history a Republican presidential candidate ran stronger in the South than elsewhere in the country, also for the first time a majority of Protestants voted for a Democratic candidate. In the three previous presidential elections, a majority of women voters—numerically as important as men voters—had voted for the Republican ticket. In this election women voters, by a majority larger than that of the men, supported the Democratic candidate.

An Associated Press survey after the election found that Americans of all races, ethnic groups and economic levels joined to support President Johnson, with only the Deep South standing aside from the sweep. Johnson outran Kennedy in the big cities, in the lower and middle income groups, and cut deeply into the upper economic level. In the nation as a whole, Johnson got eighty-eight percent of the Negro vote, and in the South it was ninety-five percent. If there was a backlash it was insignificant. Goldwater strategists had counted strongly on this among Slavic, Italian and other ethnic groups. A study of selected precincts showed, however, that Johnson got seventy-nine percent of the Slavic group, seventy-four percent of the Italian vote, and eighty-five percent of the Irish vote—all greater percentages than those given Kennedy in 1960.

Midwest farmers, traditionally Republican, went for Johnson. In fact, in all but certain Southern areas, farmers went Democratic. But it was these rural areas of the South, where the civil rights issue was the strongest, that gave Goldwater the states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, with their forty-seven electoral votes.

In Southern cities and suburbs Johnson ran from one to three percent ahead of Kennedy. He trailed, however, the Kennedy vote by three percent or more in the rural areas and that, generally, made the difference. In one hundred Deep South counties where Negroes are a majority in population but where very few vote, Johnson trailed far behind Goldwater.

In the eleven Southern states as a whole, Samuel Lubell found, Goldwater managed to draw as high a share of the total vote—forty-

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nine percent—as did Dwight D. Eisenhower in his peak year of 1956. But it was a different kind of support, and both Democratic and Republican leaders have the feeling that it was a support that cannot be counted as safely Republican in the future. The fact that other Republican candidates suffered defeat, except in Alabama and Mississippi, where six Republicans ousted Democratic congressmen, tends to confirm this feeling. Leaders of both parties are confident, too, that Republican candidates in the future cannot detach themselves from the mainstream and that elections will be decided on issues other than civil rights. As Reporter David Kraslow expressed it, "They recognize that the Negro vote, especially in the South, can be as contestable as the Chinese vote, the white Protestant vote, the Catholic vote, the Jewish vote, or the vote of the freckle-faced redheads and one-armed shortstops."

As for the Negro vote, an all-out drive to get more Negroes registered in the Democratic party is underway. Louis E. Martin, deputy chairman of the Democratic National Committee and a Southern-born Negro, says, "We're getting ready for 1966 and 1968." He estimated that Negroes accounted for fifteen percent of the total vote in the South in the last election, and could possibly account for twenty-five percent in the future. That's why he thinks it is important to push their registration as Democrats now.

Equally determined, however, to change the drift of the Republican party are some younger Republicans. In North Carolina, the Republican candidate for governor, Robert Gavin, felt that the fact that he received no more than five percent of the Negro vote caused his defeat. Even though he did not disassociate himself from Goldwater and the entire Republican ticket in the campaign, he was frank to say after the election that Goldwater was a burden he had to bear. In North Carolina and other Upper South states, where the pattern of politics is such that elections are more often decided on issues other than race, Republicans lost out in legislative seats and in local elections as well. This decline in legislative representation has led native observers to take opposite positions from analysts from the outside, such as Roscoe Drummond, and to declare that a real two-party system is further away from reality now than four years ago. Editor Robert Mason of the Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot* said, "It is very clear that the Republican party was

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set back drastically by the nomination, the campaign, and the routing of Mr. Goldwater. It cannot afford to nominate another man of his views. And it cannot afford to attempt to build in the South on the Goldwater-Wallace record there."

This view is shared by Terry Sanford, who does see a two-party system in the South, but not along the lines drawn in the past election. Nationally the Republicans are not likely to repeat their performance or stance, and regionally there will be less and less appeal of a one-issue image. "The Deep South," says Mason, "has reached a stopping place in its political agony. And the rest of the South, by proving itself more responsive to national than regional forces, has moved on."

Some time, some day, Republican leaders in the South will see that their only hope for increasing party membership and winning elections is to be "for something" rather than to be consistently against Democratic programs which are now ingrained in the politics and life of the people of the region. Moreover, they will have to offer candidates at all levels of government rather than be content with handpicking old-line regulars to run for major state offices. There will have to be a major change in political philosophy, however, and that is not likely to come about except by a gradual process of years. At this point there is no Republican leader on the Southern scene who appears able, or even willing, to lead the party out of the miasma of negativism.

There are Democrats, however, in the Deep South states who are determined that what happened to their party in 1964 will not happen again. Already they are marshaling their factions and forces to regain control from those who followed the Goldwater path. They know it will not be easy, for there are those still who are of the same sentiments as the editor of a Greenville, South Carolina, newspaper who wrote on November 4 that "it matters not how the rest of the country voted—Greenville County is Goldwater Country." But even in Greenville there are some who are beginning to say that "it does matter."

It is important for the rest of the country, as well as the South, to be aware of the fact that the South is not monolithic in ideas or attitudes, practice or performance. The "Solid South" was not even solid in its consistent support of the Democratic party, as rea-

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sons for voting that way varied from state to state and within states themselves. While there are few states with more Southern pride than North Carolina, it is a pride that does not follow the orthodoxy observed in other states. Democratic party organizations in such states as North Carolina and Tennessee have differed greatly in both form and philosophy from those in other states of the old Confederacy.

That difference was discernible in the voting patterns of last November. It may have been true that a great many people voted both for and against Goldwater. But it is even more true that a majority of the Southern states voted *for* Lyndon B. Johnson and the Democratic party.

When the President's wife boarded the Lady Bird Special and rode through Virginia and North Carolina she, with charm and political appeal, set the stage for the President to point to some positive political facts of life. In Raleigh, before the largest indoor political rally ever held in the South, the President spelled out in dollars and cents what the Democratic farm program meant to the tobacco and cotton growers, what the Congressional measures he had sponsored meant to the textile mill owners, and what better educational opportunities would mean for all. It was a positive appeal for votes, and the people of the Upper South responded in kind.

Lyndon B. Johnson, the first Southerner to be elected to the Presidency from the South in more than a hundred years (Woodrow Wilson, a Virginian, was elected from New Jersey), has given no sign that he means to take punitive action against any of the states that went against him. Indeed, he has been extraordinarily conciliatory toward the region and friends of long standing there. Obviously, his philosophy of "come, let us reason together" will be applied with all of the charm and political persuasiveness for which he is acclaimed. For Johnson, as practical politician, knows the ability of Southern congressmen, as well as the necessity for their support and their votes in the enactment of his "Great Society" program. Certainly the South, with its low per capita income and persistent pockets of poverty, is more in need of the augmentation of that program than any other region. Passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 could clear the air and remove from

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Southern congressmen the burden they have had to bear of fighting it. If the Administration and politicians from other regions will now permit the law to take its course without flaunting the issue in the face of the South, such measures as aid to education, medical care, and projects to lift the economic level of the people can be faced in proper perspective. There are signs that this will be done.

Change is coming to the South. Five states followed the Dixiecrat philosophy of Barry Goldwater and gave him his only votes except in his native Arizona, where he barely eked by. But even in those states windmill-tilting is not a popular pastime, even in politics. Emotional issues may momentarily sway, but the pinched-pocketbook nerve brings even quicker reaction. It is in these states, where more jobs are needed for those displaced by mechanization on the farms, that the nerve is being severely pinched. The disadvantaged and the dispossessed will make themselves heard, and self-preservation will dictate to the politician that he must heed the cry.

Transition from a rural to an urban society is bound to bring changes in voting patterns. Already it is noticeable in such urban areas as Atlanta, Nashville, Charlotte. And there will be more large cities as people move to town from the country where each year it is taking fewer and fewer people to produce more than ever before. Republican gains have been greater in these new urban areas, but it was these same areas that rejected Goldwater in 1964. It is obvious that the Republican party cannot appeal to voters on the same issues. It is also obvious that the Democratic party cannot hold the allegiance of the voters with pat appeals to party loyalty alone.

Politics must accommodate itself to the changes taking place in the South. That includes the increasing political potency of the Negro vote, as well as the emerging industrialization which in a decade will be the dominating factor in Southern economic life. Such changes, of course, are resisted by many. But millions more will welcome them.

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Style the Repository

MOSES HADAS

TO THE ROMANS, AS TO THE HEBREWS, their history, conceived of as directed by divine providence, was a kind of national charter that claimed their loyalty, defined their aspirations, and welded them together into a unity. What gave the Greeks their common character and purpose was not responsibility to a divinely ordained mission but loyalty to shared *style* which their forebears had shaped and which set them apart from other men. The repository of style was a collection of ancient books, and these were the agency for initiating oncoming generations into the norms of Greekhood, especially where Greekhood was in danger of disintegration. The first thing that any group of Greek immigrants did, when they settled in the countries of the Near and Middle East during the Hellenistic Age, was to establish a school, in which the books studied were not recent or practical but the classical poets, with Homer at their head. Why the remote and minuscule Trojan War when the recent upheavals caused by Alexander and his successors were so much larger in scope and more immediate in interest? Clearly because Homer continued to be regarded as the most effective vehicle for communicating the essentials of Greek style.

Style is what sets man above the animal, what motivates him to transcend his reflexes; and Homer illustrates the style appropriate to heroes and the style appropriate to reporting their heroism. Achilles transcended reflexes when he preferred a short and glorious life to a long and brutish one; in another spiritual climate a man might turn the other cheek or walk the second mile. So obsessed is he with his own image that he refuses to help his comrades in their desperate need—and yet is never called traitor for

✪ MOSES HADAS is Jay Professor of Greek at Columbia University. This essay was written during his tenure of a Fellowship at the Center for Advanced Studies at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut.

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his refusal. His special style Achilles maintains throughout the *Iliad,* in his initial quarrel with Agamemnon, in his courtesy to Agamemnon's emissaries, and most of all in the high point of the *Iliad* (and perhaps of Western literature) when despite his passionate resolve to maltreat the body of Hector he restores it to Hector's father for decent burial. And when Achilles abdicates his style he knows that he is not Achilles. Before the climactic duel Hector attempts to parley: "If I kill you I will return your body to your people, and do you agree to do the same for me." Achilles replies that he can no more enter a pact than can a wild beast—he is no longer Achilles but an animal. When the fighting begins Hector is encouraged by the appearance behind him of a figure he believes to be his brother, carrying a spare spear; but when he looks around in his moment of need the figure, who was actually the goddess Athena, has vanished. Treachery? No, grace. Nothing, no Olympian, could prevent Hector's fated death; what Athena has done is to insure that Hector receives Achilles' weapon not in his back but in his chest, and so has helped him to a higher style than he might himself be capable of. The difference between the two men is exemplified by the difference in their mothers: Thetis is a delicate and aristocratic and detached divinity; Hecuba a possessive and heavy-burdened Mediterranean mother.

More tangible and communicable than the high style of the Homeric outlook is the style of the language in which it is expressed. From the Homeric paradigm derives the doctrine that significant utterance must not be blurted out but clothed in dignified and artistic form appropriate to the subject. Homer not only established the classic form for heroic narrative poetry but also the principle that other genres must assume and then observe a classic form. When Hesiod, who disdained the Homeric ethic, wishes to speak of husbandry or Theognis of morality or Solon of politics they employ, and set the standard for, the appropriate form. Nothing could be further from mechanical recording of casual conversations, nothing could be a more stylized distillation of the poet's concepts, than fifth-century tragedy. Despite marked variations in religious and social outlooks from playwright to playwright, the form remains constant; and because the form is preserved intact,

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innovations in outlook, in a poet like Euripides, have all the greater impact.

The importance of style, which was implicit from the beginning, is articulated in specific terms by Isocrates early in the fourth century. It is to the stylistic excellence of its discourse that Isocrates attributes Athens' political as well as cultural preeminence. *Logos,* which means word or rationale or discourse, is what distinguishes man from animal and hence is the gauge of civilization. Man is to animal as Greek to barbarian; man has *logos,* the animal does not; Greeks have stylish *logoi,* barbarians do not. Greek and barbarian, incidentally, Isocrates defines not according to race but according to education: a racial non-Hellene is made a Hellene by Greek education; a racial Hellene who lacks Greek education is a barbarian. Where Plato, in his rival Academy, believed his doctrine could be communicated only to selected disciples by long personal association and employed mathematics to sharpen the intellect and accustom it to abstractions, Isocrates relied upon a collection of books, much the same as that which educated the Near East and Rome and Europe and is taught to this day, to transmit the values of Hellenism.

By the third century the collection had been crystallized into what might fairly be called a canon. The canonical books and they alone were the authoritative vehicle for Greek tradition; they might be endlessly expounded and even emulated but never supplanted. They, but no contemporary or recent authors, are repeatedly cited in the elegant writers of later antiquity. Greek philosophy ends in the first century A.D. because the Law of Contradiction is suspended; philosophers occupy themselves solely with respectful exegesis of their classics, much like fundamentalist exegesis of Scripture. Reverence for knowledge of the canonical classics, in the last century B.C. and the first A.D., is much like Christian reverence for knowledge of Scripture. Tombstones sometimes carry the epithet "Man of the Muses," which is tantamount to B. Litt., and suggests a prospect of a favored position in the world to come. Contemporary descriptions of the Elysian Fields show not only champion athletes at their sports but also poets reciting their works to admiring audiences.

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The scholars in the library at Alexandria, which became the center for literary as for other study, did write poetry, of a pedantic and precious kind, and it is usually said that their poetry is a by-product of their scholarship. Perhaps it should be put the other way around. Here were men who wished to revivify the characteristically Greek but long-intermitted art of poesy, but so exigent was respect for literary tradition that mastery of it was a prerequisite. An eloquent illustration is afforded by the Mimes of Herondas, discovered in a papyrus at the turn of our century. Their unclassical vulgarity caused a sensation; their first English translator called his book "A Realist of the Aegean," and a later critic said they were written for people who move their lips when they read. But a closer look at Herondas reveals that for his meter our realist chooses the scazon or limping iamb, which had been established as appropriate for vulgarity by Hipponax some six centuries before, and that he uses antique words of whose meaning he is himself uncertain.

The wittiest of the later Greek authors, and the one most frequently imitated by later wits, is Lucian, a Syrian Greek of the second century A.D. In spirit Lucian seems closer to our century than to the great classics, and yet the Greek he writes is not that of his own day but of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. It is quite as if a modern insisted on saying *thou* and *ye, hath* and *doth*. One who persisted in doing so we should regard as merely eccentric—unless he were at prayer. In a sense Lucian, as well as other representatives of the movement we call the Second Sophistic, was at prayer. Archaism was not a caprice but a calculated prophylactic against corruption in language and the outlooks language conveys, and an essentially romantic attempt to recover the imagined rationality and flawless taste of a golden age.

Loss of national sovereignty, in the ancient world, was assumed to entail the disappearance of the national ethos. The Greek ethos survived Roman domination because Hellenism was detached from dependence upon sovereignty and was transformed into something like a cult unlimited by national boundaries. The process is illustrated by the career of Plutarch. Although he was highly successful and respected in the world metropolis of Rome, Plutarch chose

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to return to his provincial Chaeronea, to become a minor magistrate there and a priest of Delphi, and to discourse to his neighbors on philosophy and mathematics—because to do these things was to perpetuate Greek style and so to serve the cult of Hellenism. We who continue to read Homer and the tragedians cannot say that the process was futile.

The absolute and uncompromising exigency of traditional literary style is most clearly articulated by Hermogenes of Tarsus, a highly regarded rhetorician of the second century. In a preface Hermogenes says, in effect, that a mediocrity who follows his teaching (in what we should call Creative Writing) is bound to be a better writer than a genius who does not. By the Byzantines Hermogenes is constantly invoked as the paramount authority. The main object of their study was *hellenismos,* correct Greek style; one senses that they were pathetically aware of the sterility of their own productions but clung to the vessel of style in the hope that it might some day be replenished with a worthier content. If the vessel should shatter, civilization would have to begin anew. The most prolific Byzantine genre is letters, and the jejune content of the thousands that have come down is shocking. Did intelligent and responsible correspondents have so little to say to each other? The explanation is that the actual message was delivered orally by the carrier, and the written epistle was intended only to maintain traditional form. The best, one is tempted to say the only, good, sentence in the several handbooks of model letters that have come down is this: "Though you and I are separated by a great interval, the interval is only one of space." One of these collections is ascribed (falsely, modern scholars say) to Libanius, and Libanius was much admired by Erasmus. Perhaps Erasmus' numerous and better letters are an example of the replenishment of the vessel.

In the first centuries of our era no Greek book, no matter how fresh or significant its content, could be acceptable to polite audiences unless it were couched in traditional Attic style. Josephus was certainly at home in the Greek of his day, but he employed expert assistants to clothe his work in the requisite Attic style. The edifying Life of Apollonius of Tyana, which was sometimes thought to be designed as a pagan challenge to the uniqueness of

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the Christian Gospels, was written by the litterateur Philostratus at the instance of the Empress Julia Domna, who was a religious enthusiast. Among the materials put into his hands by the Empress, Philostratus says in his opening, was a Life written by Apollonius' own disciple, the Babylonian Damis. What was expected, evidently, was that Philostratus would put the Life into a form that educated readers would accept and respect, as they would not an unpolished work, as Damis' presumably was. So, in his opening verses, Luke says that others before him had written gospels; and his is, in fact, the most polished of those that have come down. Poets known to have been Christian exhibit a calculated blindness to Christianity and employ the pagan symbols appropriate to poetry. From Nonnus' forty-eight-book *Dionysiaca* (fifth century) one would never suspect that he was a Christian, and yet Nonnus also wrote a paraphrase of St. John's Gospel. So, in the West, Ausonius and Claudian never reveal their Christianity in their secular writings, even where they might well do so; in Claudian's epithalamium for the Christian marriage of Honorius to Stilicho's daughter Maria it is still Juno who is the patroness of wedlock.

Here, as in the Second Sophistic and in other conjunctures of literary history, preoccupation with manner led to disregard of matter; but the vessel of style was justified and was eventually replenished. After the fall of Constantinople it was the style of the classics rather than their form that channeled the renascence of literature in the West. The drama of the Italian *rinascimento* is not a development out of antecedent native folk performances but an innovation inspired by classical texts. The Teatro Olimpico at Vicenza was built according to the imperfectly understood prescriptions in a difficult chapter of Vitruvius' *De architectura,* newly published, and the plays presented there were first translations and then adaptations and then emulations of the ancient plays. To the intellectual profundities that moderns admire in ancient tragedy the creators of the new drama seem to have been totally deaf. What they did learn and act upon was that drama is not buffoonery for a carnival mob but a dignified art form worthy of the serious efforts of the best artists and the respectful attention of the most accomplished audiences. The recovered vessel was now ready for

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a new and more vital content. The contribution of the Greek romances, which modern readers justly ignore but which enjoyed a great vogue in the humanist age, is exactly parallel. In character and event the romances are as indifferent to probability as the monstrous romances of chivalry that Don Quixote's housekeeper threw on the bonfire; but to people who had known only the enormous and amorphous romances of Amadis of Gaul and the like, the existence of tightly constructed stories of manageable length, having beginning, middle, and end, with several strands of intricate plot held firmly in hand and skillfully brought together for a climactic conclusion came as a revelation. Superficial borrowings from the Greek romances, as in Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia,* are incidental; the important lesson was style. And when the style was accepted it came to be filled with maturer matter than it had ever before contained.

But style could never have functioned as a vessel unless it had a substantive value of its own. Even before the ancient poets became canonical this style was in itself exploited for edification. Boys were taught poetry, says Plato in describing education (*Protagoras* 325d), "in order to learn to become gentle and harmonious and rhythmical, and so more fitted for speech and action, for the life of man in every part has need of harmony and rhythm." Some such edifying function it retained even in the barren ages of the Second Sophistic and of Byzantium, and some such function the vessel retains even after it has been richly replenished. Style not only promotes excellence of content but possesses an excellence of its own. In his *Aims of Education* Alfred North Whitehead wrote, "Style, in its finest sense, is the last acquirement of the educated mind; it is also the most useful. It pervades the whole being. . . . Style is the ultimate morality of mind."

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Three Flights Up In Rome

JEANNETTE NICHOLS

Siesta.
The shutters part like cards
(3 flights up)
and she appears
drying her long hair.
Nothing in the street moves
save one cat drunk on heat.
Only (3 flights up)
her brown bare toes move
one set over the other
and her brown bare hands
loving her hair dry
move like moles
in and out of the white towel
searching the cave mouth of her head
where darkness is wet, cool
and sings.
Here (3 flights up)
is over the world
where boons
are granted lovers beneath balconies
as tall as this one
and kisses
fall like petals (3 flights down)
into the siesta
where no one
not even now a cat
moves.

✪ JEANNETTE NICHOLS is a staff member at Yale University. Her poems have appeared in many publications, including *Saturday Review, Atlantic Monthly* and *Antioch Review*.

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Political Ideals and The Military Ethic

ALLEN GUTTMANN

FROM THE 1770's TO THE 1960's, from the Committees of Correspondence to S.N.C.C., American political rhetoric has remained remarkably constant. Liberty and equality. Although each generation of reformers discovers in anger that rhetoric is not the only form of reality and that political ideals are at best imperfectly institutionalized, the liberal tradition (of which Locke is *fons* if not *origo*) has dominated American political thought and, to a much lesser degree, political behavior.* Almost unopposed by a Burkean conservatism not yet reconciled to the French Revolution, protected by two oceans, nourished by natural and then by technological abundance, liberalism has flourished like an only child. Liberalism, like an only child, has its inadequacies. Among them is its inability to understand the uses of power in general and of military power in particular. More particularly still, liberalism has failed to comprehend the military ethic.

Political and economic power unprecedented in American history are now concentrated at the Pentagon. The military establishment takes fifty percent of the Federal budget and ten percent of the Gross National Product. The biological and thermonuclear weapons at its disposal awe the leaders of this nation even as they deter (we hope) the leaders of the Communist bloc. Although total war seems unlikely, limited wars are and will probably continue

* Like Louis Hartz, to whom I am intellectually in debt, I use "liberal" and "conservative" to mean the political ideals derived from Locke and from Burke. I do *not* use them in their popular sense of opposed attitudes toward social change. See Clinton Rossiter's *Conservatism in America,* chapter one, for a clear statement of the two basic meanings of conservatism.

✪ ALLEN GUTTMANN's article, "Jewish Radicals, Jewish Writers," appeared in the Autumn 1963 issue of the SCHOLAR. Mr. Guttmann, who teaches at Amherst College, is author of *The Wound in the Heart: America and the Spanish Civil War.*

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to be fought; effective disarmament supervised by an adequately empowered United Nations remains a distant prospect. The danger inherent in concentrated power has, however, been *increased* rather than *decreased* by Fred Cook, C. Wright Mills and others who have denounced "militarism," "the military mind," "the power elite," "the warfare state," "the war hawks of Washington" and the "nuclear witch doctors." The Department of Defense cannot usefully be described as if it were committed to the "Prussianized military-industrial concept . . . that produced Hitler." The professional soldier cannot be understood if he is labeled "authoritarian" and told to stand in a corner.

Samuel Huntington's very important book, *The Soldier and the State,* demonstrates that the abusive irrelevance of the attacks on "nuclear militarism" derives from the "confused and unsystematic . . . assumptions and beliefs" of American liberalism. Preliminary to constructing an alternative framework within which to analyze the military ethic and the problem of civil-military relations, Huntington knocks to pieces the traditional liberal model:

> The heart of liberalism is individualism. It emphasizes the reason and moral dignity of the individual, and opposes political, economic, and social restraints upon individual liberty. In contrast, the military ethic holds that man is evil, weak, and irrational and that he must be subordinated to the group. The military man claims that the natural relation among men is conflict. . .

The liberal fears power and believes in peace through international law. The liberal is, in a word, antimilitary. Readers unconvinced by Huntington's account of the military establishment can turn to Arthur A. Ekirch's avowedly liberal and antimilitary book, *The Civilian and the Military.* Ekirch documents the long American struggle to do without a professional army—and admonishes us characteristically to beware the loss of liberty to the "Garrison State" (the phrase is Harold Lasswell's).

What political theory is, according to Huntington, implicit in the military ethic? Conservatism. Like the conservatism of Edmund Burke, whom Huntington cites in order explicitly to dismiss the nineteenth-century liberalism that passes as "conservatism" in popular parlance, the military ethic "stresses the supremacy

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of society over the individual and the importance of order, hierarchy, and division of function. It stresses the continuity and value of history." The soldier is the antithesis of the businessman. He seeks honor under a military code which, in Douglas MacArthur's words, "has come down to us from even before the age of knighthood and chivalry." He is contemptuous of commercialism, aloof from partisan politics and skeptical of the attempt to "outlaw" war as a means of settling international disputes. "The military ethic," writes Huntington, "is basically corporative in spirit." It is hierarchical. "It is fundamentally anti-individualistic."

An extraordinary corroboration for Huntington's identification of the military ethic and conservatism can be found in the most impressive novel yet written of World War II—James Gould Cozzens' *Guard of Honor*. The officers whom Cozzens creates are conservatives affirmed. The conflicts observed by the protagonist are conflicts within and between institutions (rather than the traditional American conflict between individual and society). The crises of the novel are crises of command, not of obedience.*

The central crisis in *Guard of Honor* turns on the question of race relations. A hotheaded veteran punches a Negro flier who had inadvertently endangered the lives of the hothead, his commander (General Beal), and the novel's hero (Colonel Ross). The crisis, inaccurately reported by the press, is intensified when incompetent Colonel Mowbray, following Southern custom, bars Negro airmen from the Officers' Club. Tensions are made more taut by the suicide of an officer shunted off to a minor command, by petty troubles among the Wacs, by the death of paratroops dropped into a lake unpatrolled by the crash boat supposedly on guard.

Through all this, General Beal lives an unquestioned code—the Military Academy's Duty-Honor-Country:

It probably never crossed [his] mind that . . . books had been written to show that Country was a delusive projection of his individual's ego;

* Norman Mailer's *The Naked and the Dead* and John Oliver Killens' *And Then We Heard the Thunder,* two novels that approach the greatness of Cozzens', are more conventional in that they dramatize a liberal (or socialist) view of the military. They are in the tradition of Hemingway's *Farewell to Arms* and Dos Passos' *Three Soldiers.* They support Huntington's argument insofar as he insists that liberalism cannot understand the military ethic.

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and that there were men who considered it the part of intelligence to admit that Honor was a hypocritical sanction protecting the position of the ruling class; or that Duty was self-interest as it appeared when sanctions like Honor had fantastically distorted it.

Colonel Ross differs from General Beal mainly in that he is conscious of the role he plays, aware of the criticisms made of his ideals. He moves in World War II as he had in World War I from the institutions appropriate in peacetime (the law) to those appropriate in wartime (the Army). Although excluded from the "mystic order" of West Pointers, he is nonetheless an "old Army man." He accepts the military as it is because he accepts the world as it is. Standing with General Beal to review formations of men and planes, acting out the ceremonies of military life, Colonel Ross thinks of Biblical wisdom ("Oft He seems to hide His face, but unexpectedly returns . . . ") and formulates his creed: "A man must stand up and do the best he can with what there is." His conservative philosophy is summed up in the four lines of Pope that come to him as he stands in thought:

> All Nature is but art unknown to thee;
> All chance, direction, which thou canst not see;
> All discord, harmony not understood;
> All partial evil, universal good.

This philosophy is challenged by Lieutenant Edsell, a Marxist who asserts that the state is "the product of class antagonisms and the instrument of class domination." Edsell distorts the conflict: "Some unreconstructed Confederates and other poor white trash, some of it from West Point, got all hot and bothered" and "decided to strike a blow for White Supremacy." Lieutenant Edsell proposes to do something about the "sadistic sub-morons down in dear old Dixie." He introduces into the already confused scene the father of the assaulted airman and a reporter from the Negro press.

Colonel Ross rebukes both Lieutenant Edsell and Colonel Mowbray. He handles the racial crisis with common sense (truckle now, profit later) and with legalistic compromise (the Club is off limits not for Negroes but for "temporary personnel," all of whom are Negroes). He helps cover the blunders of Colonel Mow-

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bray, whose failure to note the reported breakdown of the crash boat doomed the paratroops. He holds the fort while General Beal flies himself together. (Flight calms the general.) He insists on a guard of honor for the self-slain officer:

It does us good. Ceremony is for us. The guard . . . of honor is a suitable mark of our regret for mortality and our respect for service—we hope, good; but if bad or indifferent, at least, long. When you are as old as I am you will realize that it ought to get a man something. For our sake, not his. Not much; but something. Something people can see.

The military ethic of Colonel Ross is that described in *The Soldier and the State.**

Literary corroboration is not, however, proof. The novelist, despite the extravagant claims of Émile Zola, presents an inherently unscientific and unverifiable vision of reality. The novelist projects attitudes rather than facts; he creates in imagination another world that is a judgment of the ordinary world rather than a description of it. The great novelist misleads those who take his metaphors as literal statements. The rigorous arguments of *The Soldier and the State* end in a curious two-page symbolic opposition of the "ordered serenity" of West Point and the "incredible variety and discordancy of small-town commercialism":

The post is suffused with the rhythm and harmony which comes when collective will supplants individual whim. West Point is a community of structured purpose, one in which the behavior of men is governed by a code, the product of generations. There is little room for presumption and individualism. . . . In order is found peace; in discipline, fulfillment; in community, security. . . . The spirit of West Point is in the great, gray, Gothic Chapel, starting from the hill and dominating the Plain, calling to mind Henry Adams' remarks at Mont St. Michel on the unity of the military and the religious spirits. But the unity of the Chapel is even greater. There join together the four great pillars of society: Army, Government, College, and Church. Religion subordinates man to God for divine purposes; the military life subordinates man to duty for society's purposes. In its severity, regularity, discipline,

* Herman Wouk's *Caine Mutiny,* an immensely popular and inferior novel, presents a perverted form of conservatism. Captain Queeg is a paranoid maniac who ought to be honored and obeyed because he is an officer of the Navy that defended us all when most of us pursued our private pleasures. One suspects the novel's popularity came from the elaborate dramatization of Queeg's insanity and not from the drunken eulogies spoken in his defense. John P. Marquand's *Melville Goodwin, U.S.A.* is, although lobotomized, a more attractive representative of the soldier conservative.

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the military society shares the characteristics of the religious order. Modern man may well find his monastery in the Army.

Is it possible that *The Soldier and the State* contains, along with much brilliant historical and sociological analysis, a passionate projection of attitudes, a model of the military ethic that is an almost literary construct, a portrait similar to Cozzens' because painted by imagination's lamp? Is it also possible that some third polity fits the military ethic better than liberalism *or* conservatism? It is possible. The implicit—but certainly not the explicit—polity of the American military establishment today is a pragmatic form of socialism usually described, in popular speech, as "modern liberalism." But theoretical models are clean; data are dirty. It is necessary to attend to the evidence.

Addressing the Corps of Cadets at West Point, Douglas MacArthur made his (and West Point's) credo the refrain of his speech:

> Duty-Honor-Country. Those three hallowed words reverently dictate what you ought to be, what you can be, what you will be. They are your rallying points. . . . You are the leaven which binds together the entire fabric of our national system of defense. From your ranks come the great captains who hold the nation's destiny in their hands the moment the war tocsin sounds. The Long Gray Line has never failed us. Were you to do so, a million ghosts in olive drab, in brown khaki, in blue and gray, would rise from their white crosses, thundering those magic words—Duty-Honor-Country.

Insofar as the soldier remains loyal to these ideals he continues in the conservative tradition; he opposes the capitalistic code of individual profit best epitomized in the Robber Baron's epigram: "Nothing is lost save honor!"

How typical is MacArthur? Not very. The memoirs of Ulysses S. Grant and William T. Sherman are remarkable for their plain style and their understated descriptions of the movements of troops. Although Southerners came closer to the European ideal of honor than did Northerners, American soldiers—except for MacArthur—have seldom written or behaved in a manner Charles de Gaulle might think properly military. And, as Morris Janowitz notes in his excellent *The Professional Soldier,* honor has become less and less significant in our military establishment as the "heroic leaders"

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are replaced by the "military managers." Pierre Gustave Toutant de Beauregard strutted Napoleonically, but Stonewall Jackson was the future's voice when he told his men to shoot rather than cheer the courageous enemy; the brave ones spurred the others on.

The leaders of World War II were remarkably unsympathetic to the aristocratic codes of enemy and ally. General Wainwright objected to the Japanese soldier's "foggy medieval" beliefs; the banzai charge and "ritualistic hari-kari" were not the "tactics of reason." General Stilwell answered bitterly the British scorn for "unmilitary" Americans. His diary references to British officers are closer in tone to Mark Twain than to MacArthur. Sir Harold Alexander is, for instance, "astonished to find ME—mere me, a goddam American—in command of Chinese troops. 'Extrawdinary!' Looked me over as if I had just crawled out from under a rock." General Chennault, in the same China-Burma-India theater, scorned the inefficient traditionalism of the British and boasted of his slovenly but effective Flying Tigers. In France, homespun Omar Bradley and roughneck George Patton (with less justice) objected loudly to the theatrics and the ambitions of General Montgomery. It was, however, the French concept of military honor that most bewildered the American soldier. Before the North African invasion, Robert Murphy, career diplomat, had carefully to explain to Eisenhower that the French officers took their oaths of allegiance to Pétain very seriously. Eisenhower's own account of the attempt to win Darlan from Vichy is a study in incomprehension. General Patton, described by his latest biographer as "a medieval personality," was astonished when told that the "friendly" resistance of General Nogues's Moroccan forces enabled the French partially to recoup honor lost in the terrible *Blitzkrieg*. General Truscott's attitude breaks through his quotation marks: "It was expected that the French would resist any assault landing in Morocco, but it was hoped it would be a token resistance, sufficient only to satisfy the demands of 'French honor.' " Ironic quotation marks punctuate Ladislas Farago's account of Patton's troubles with Admiral Michelier; General Clark uses quotation marks against Darlan, Giraud, and Juin: "I was unhappy at the way I was . . . forced to bluster and push people

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around, and I was irritated by the fog of French personal and political 'honor' that seemed to be holding up our military plans." In contrast to MacArthur's religious imagery ("Rally to me. . . . The guidance of Divine God points the way. Follow in His name to the Holy Grail of righteous victory!"), General Clark's metaphors are commercial: "Darlan was a political investment forced upon us by circumstances, but we made a sensational profit in lives and time through using him." Men fought and died because there was a job to be done and they were trained to do it. There were few *chevaliers sans peur et sans reproche* among the generals and admirals of World War II.

Compared to the American businessman, the soldier is the personification of ceremony and tradition. Compared to the European soldier, the American is as deficient in reverence for the past as in a sense of military honor. The study of history is a part of military education and West Point has its sense of the past, but the American soldier has from the first been schooled in engineering (or navigation) rather than in history. The professional *uses* rather than reveres the past and prides himself not as the inheritor and preserver but as the innovator and improviser. Military leaders have, like men in business, government, education, the ministry, resisted change. Patton wept at the end of the cavalry—and was our greatest tank commander. Resistance comes harder and harder. In an age when obsolescence overtakes a weapons system on the drawing board, at a time when civilians like Brodie, Kahn, Kissinger and Morgenstern debate the problems of strategy, military leadership is more often exercised by the "military intellectuals" (like James M. Gavin) than by officers sensitive to traditional ways. Lee's lieutenants might still have had a Burkean sense of the prescriptive power of inherited custom; McNamara's lieutenants do not.

A code of honor and a sense of history are one side of the coin; the other side, which Huntington emphasizes, is a rejection of capitalistic economics, partisan politics and pacifistic foreign policy. Although Huntington quotes impressively from professional journals' attacks on commercialism from the standpoint of "a thoroughly noneconomic conservatism," his generalizations seem better suited to European society, where the antagonism between

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soldier and businessman is an old tradition. Consider William T. Sherman, whom Huntington cites as *the* professional soldier (in contrast to the utterly unsatisfactory Ulysses S. Grant). Sherman's memoirs show little sense of the importance of honor and a great awareness of commercial possibilities. While on active duty in California, he went into the grocery business. While stationed in St. Louis, he speculated in realty. Like Grant and many other West Pointers of this period, he resigned from the Army and went into business. For most of the decade before 1861 he was a banker in San Francisco and New York. Consider Douglas MacArthur himself. Even in his West Point address, he paused to denounce "deficit financing" and high taxes. After dismissal from command, he toured the nation and urged the preservation of laissez-faire capitalism: "There are those who seek to change our system of free enterprise which, whatever its faults, commands the maximum energy from human resource and provides maximum benefits in human happiness. . . ." Neither Morris Janowitz nor Richard Brown (who studied the social attitudes of 465 generals from 1898 to 1940) finds serious antagonism to private-enterprise capitalism. On the contrary, the average soldier is convinced that private enterprise is the *sine qua non* of the American Way. This conviction can be seen in the postretirement employment of 262 general and flag officers (including MacArthur) with major corporations engaged in military procurement. As the attacks on the "power elite" and "the warfare state" invariably demonstrate, movement from the Pentagon to Wall Street is rather easy.

And what of politics? Huntington points to Sherman's refusal to run if nominated or serve if elected as *the* symbol of the apolitical tradition of the professional soldier. It is still true that Taylor, Grant and Eisenhower ran successfully for the Presidency, Winfield Scott, George McClellan and Winfield Scott Hancock ran unsuccessfully, and Leonard Wood, George Dewey and Douglas MacArthur wanted to run. One can make a case for the apolitical military elite only if one insists that Sherman, Pershing and Ridgway exemplify the professional while the others do not. The involvement of the military in politics has, as Huntington himself brilliantly shows in *The Common Defense,* grown steadily greater.

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Not because we have moved toward a "Garrison State" but because the determination of military policy is "*always* the product of politics" and now perhaps the single most important question of American politics.

One must admit that the military ethic's recognition of the role of power is conservative rather than liberal. The professional soldier is by Harold Lasswell's definition a "specialist in violence." He steps in when the rule of law has failed. The contrast between the militarist and the pacifist is almost total; General H. Wager Halleck could not begin his famous *Elements of Military Art and Science* (1846) without a lengthy rebuttal of Francis Wayland's popular essays on behalf of pacifism. (Wayland was also, of course, an apostle of laissez-faire.) Through the 1890's Alfred Thayer Mahan's books on sea power answered (indirectly) Andrew Carnegie and other exemplars of "business pacifism."

But the liberal too goes to war. Because he totally rejects the Clausewitzian dicta about the continuum of war and peace, he fights to end an unnatural situation (war) and to restore a natural one (peace). Surrender must be unconditional so that the warmongers can be permanently pacified. To a remarkable extent, this attitude has been accepted by the professional soldier. Writing to General Halleck from captured Atlanta, Sherman insisted, "If the people raise a howl against my barbarity and cruelty, I will answer that war is war, and not popularity-seeking. If they want peace, they and their relatives must stop the war." Writing from France in World War I, Pershing displayed the same attitude: "Complete victory can only be obtained by continuing the war until we force unconditional surrender from Germany; but if the Allied Governments decide to grant an armistice, the terms should be so rigid that under no circumstances could Germany again take up arms." The same attitude led to the use of nuclear weapons against Japan and the subsequent disavowal of war in the Japanese constitution.

Because peace is peace and war is war, political considerations play no part in wartime. Therefore, Eisenhower saw neither the significance of the differences between Admiral Darlan and General de Gaulle nor the importance of American capture of Berlin

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and Prague (which an element of Patton's Third Army entered four days before the Russians). As Bradley commented in *A Soldier's Story,* "At times, during the war, we forgot that wars are fought for the resolution of political conflicts . . ." MacArthur, unable to comprehend the Clausewitzian doctrine of limited war, provided a liberal slogan to equal "unconditional surrender": "There is no substitute for victory."

One must admit that, however much the American soldier may depart from the conservative model in other respects, the ideal of military discipline is basically contradictory to the Jeffersonian tradition of individual rights and the Emersonian glorification of self-reliance. The American military allows its officers and men a freedom of action—off-duty and in combat—unknown in European armies. But the freedom has its obvious limits. Military discipline, defined by the *Officer's Guide,* "rests upon the voluntary subordination of the individual to the welfare of the group." In an age of total war and the Selective Service Act, the adjective "voluntary" is a gesture. The soldier may be, if he likes, a reader of *Walden* and "Civil Disobedience." When commanded to move across a field in the face of enemy fire, he moves. In MacArthur's words, "In many businesses and professions the welfare of the individual is the chief object, but in the military professions the safety and honor of the states become paramount." Individual liberty, as Burke argued, must be subordinated when necessary to the needs of the society that makes liberty possible in the first place.

Burke's conservatism and military organization are, moreover, both hierarchical. But the hierarchy of Army and Navy is not that of conservative society. Once again, the military ethic departs from the conservative course. Status in the military establishment derives from rationally defined *function* and not from hereditary membership in a social class. The military commonplace—"Salute the rank and not the man"—is an apt vernacular translation of Robert K. Merton's definition of bureaucratic authority: "Authority, the power of control which derives from an acknowledged status, inheres in the office and not in the particular person who performs the official role." Neither birth nor wealth is a factor in military leadership—except to the degree that accidents of birth

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enable some more readily than others to acquire the skills and to demonstrate the qualities that are a prerequisite to advancement. To achieve its present degree of professionalization, the European army repudiated the nobility's "right" to military leadership; to achieve *its* professionalization, the American military had to prevent appointment to high rank of civilians with political influence. The success of the Army can be seen in the failure of Senator McCarthy to attain for Private G. David Schine anything like the military position won by the politically influential civilians in the Civil War.

In short, the professional soldier in America departs markedly from the conservative model. No important soldier has expressed his commitment to Russell Kirk's program for a truly Burkean society and it is unlikely that any will. These generalizations are essentially negative, but they suggest the positive: the professional soldier *shares* rather than opposes the liberal democratic tradition that dominated American life from (at the very least) the collapse of the Federalist Party to the coming of the New Deal.

Although military men in their professional journals have sometimes expressed hostility to the processes of democracy, the military elite in its postwar pinnacle of power has adhered closely to the traditional rhetoric. MacArthur's *Reminiscences* are threaded through with the general's professions of his devotion to liberty and to the dignity of the individual. Eisenhower's *Crusade in Europe* concludes with a defense of liberal democracy. "Individual liberty," writes the general, "rooted in human dignity, is man's greatest treasure." Eisenhower as President thrilled millions (and bored other millions) with endless eulogies to peace and progress, individual liberty and equal rights. James M. Gavin declares himself for "our democratic system which stems from a way of life that encourages the individual to develop himself as fully as his God-given talents will allow. . ." Matthew Ridgway, the soldier's soldier, opposed officers who wasted lives for "glory" with the argument that "all lives are equal on the battlefield. . . . The dignity which attaches to the individual is the basis of Western civilization." From Omar Bradley, Mark Clark, Lucius Clay,

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George C. Marshall and a score of others one could compile an anthology of similar declarations.

Do they mean what they say? Members of the Communist Party and of the John Birch Society might well agree that Eisenhower and Marshall *acted* undemocratically from ignorance or guile, but most of us are ready to admit at least the good intentions of these men even as we see that their political actions took them far to the Left of such prominent civilians as Senators Knowland, Jenner, McCarthy, Taft, Byrd, Eastland, McCarran and Thurmond. It was West Point-educated Eisenhower whose mania for a balanced budget drove generals into despair and retirement; it was Harvard-educated Kennedy who heeded the strategists in their appeals for a deterrent system composed of conventional and nuclear weapons, limited war capability in addition to the 1st-strike and 2nd-strike weapons of massive retaliation. It was the Ivy Leaguers in the C.I.A. and not the graduates of Annapolis and West Point who subverted the Arbenz government in Guatemala and the neutralist coalition in Laos, who overthrew Mossadegh in Iran and managed the fiasco at the Bay of Pigs.

The sincerity of the generals' professions of democratic faith can be tested in their careers as proconsuls in postwar Germany and Japan. Lucius Clay, often in advance of civilian advisors, worked with skill and dedication to construct what may be—for all its imperfections—the first stable democracy in German history. Patton, who never understood *why* Americans fought, was quickly relieved of all responsibility. MacArthur's career as the Emperor's temporary replacement won the reluctant praises even of Richard Rovere and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., two of his most articulate dispraisers. The worst blot on his reputation in Japan, his harsh suppression of Communist activities, is less black than Congressional legislation depriving the C.P.U.S.A., far weaker than its Japanese counterpart, of political rights.

It cannot be denied that many retired generals and admirals have allied themselves with the Radical Right. But these men are politically liberal in their anachronistic commitment to laissez-faire economics (jeopardized by the New Deal and perfidious Income Tax) and in their unshaken faith in an anti-Communist foreign

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policy that assumes war and peace to be, like Good and Evil, separate and total. These men are, in addition, dispossessed even within the military. Bonner Fellers, George Stratemeyer, James Van Fleet, Albert C. Wedemeyer, and Charles A. Willoughby are all "Far Easterners" who served with MacArthur, all men displaced from the dominant line of Marshall, Eisenhower, Bradley, Ridgway, Taylor, Lemnitzer. They are also the men displaced by civilian theorists and by the military managers who have accepted the strategic innovations of modern technology. They are angry and bewildered men who have joined as followers—not as leaders—Barry Goldwater and Billy James Hargis and others who do not see why normalcy could not have followed World War II. Most of the officer corps, like the majority of civilians, accept the social reforms of the past thirty years, articulate the no longer applicable rhetoric of liberalism, and go about their business. "The political beliefs of the military," writes Janowitz, "are not distinct from those that operate in civilian society."

It is mainly a conviction that the soldier *must* be different that distorts descriptions of the social structure and ideology of the military. *The American Soldier,* the two-volume report by Samuel Stouffer and others employed by the Army in World War II, begins with the traditional liberal description of the Army as traditionalist, authoritarian, "highly stratified," with "hierarchies of deference . . . formally and minutely established by official regulation." But the evidence that follows, for a thousand pages, does not support the initial assertions. The data show officers and enlisted men to be remarkably alike in their attitudes on every subject except their relations to each other; the data show the soldier to be all but indistinguishable in attitude from civilians comparable in race, economic status, education and geographical sector.* What is true for the largely conscript army of World War

* The disparity between sociologists' initial assumptions and the data can be seen in the professional journals. Descriptions of the Army as "an authoritarian organization," "rigidly stratified into two closed hierarchies," dominated by "the medieval tradition," are followed several years later by puzzled essays in which elaborate tests indicate that authoritarian attitudes, as measured by Adorno's famous F-scale, *decrease* as a result of military indoctrination. The authors generally confess themselves "reluctant to reach these conclusions," wonder about the adequacy of the F-scale, and finally speculate that "the concept of the authoritarian military leader may be anchored in an incomplete and somewhat distorted stereotype."

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II was also true for the prewar professional soldiers studied by Brown:

> [The] basic social attitudes of our military leaders [do] not differ from those possessed by other leaders in American life. Their origins have been essentially the same and the training of the military leader does little to change the social attitudes he already had.

And the military establishment has become increasingly representative of the nation as a whole. C. Wright Mills raged that the military elite, like business and political elites, is overwhelmingly white, Anglo-Saxon, upper-class and middle-class Protestant. Mills did not note that the democratization of American society is reflected in the transformation of the military elite. The religious denominations now appear among the military elite in very nearly the ratio of the nation at large. Of the generals studied by Brown (from 1898 to 1940), ninety-one percent were Protestant and nine percent were Catholic. In the West Point class of 1961, sixty-four percent were Protestant, twenty-nine percent were Catholic, two percent were Jewish, and five percent gave "other" or "none" as religious preference. Studies indicate that the upper-class and upper-middle-class domination of West Point, Annapolis and the Air Force Academy has been broken. And, insofar as can be inferred from names, the West Point Class of 1963 contained forty-one cadets whose ancestors came from Southern or Eastern Europe and four whose ancestors are Oriental. (About nine percent of the total; German Jewish names not included.) Janowitz concludes that "there is considerable justification for the belief that the military establishment is becoming an avenue for social mobility for those of lower social origin and from new immigrant families."

Although Negroes are underrepresented at the service academies, the tendency has been in the right direction. Only three Negroes finished West Point between 1865 and 1898—and none of these rose above lieutenant. At least one Negro is now a brigadier general. On the whole, the Army's attitude toward Negroes has been in advance of civilian opinion. In World War I, the Army accepted segregation and secretly urged the French not to treat Negro troops as equals. The consensus was that the Negro made a poor soldier. In World War II, some Negroes were inte-

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grated as platoons in white companies—despite the fact that seventy-four percent of northern-born college-educated white soldiers preferred segregation. Although Negroes did not perform as well as whites, Negroes in integrated units did better than Negroes in segregated ones. When completely integrated forces fought in Korea, Mark Clark wrote that he was wrong in his previous skepticism. And he quoted his former errors at length and praised the new military policy that would help the Negro "win a place he never before held among his fellow Americans."

And Then We Heard the Thunder, John Oliver Killens' militant novel of World War II, dramatizes better than any other work of fiction the humiliations of the American Negro. The anguish of Negro soldiers in the novel comes not from the injustices of the Army (which were many) but from the fact that the Negroes expected the military, engaged in a war against Fascism, to act *more* democratically than the institutions of civilian life. On the question of race relations, at least, the expectation has at last been realized.

The evidence—only a tiny fraction of which can be cited in a single essay—is conclusive. "While military beliefs about politics remain heavily weighted on the conservative side," writes Janowitz, "the content of conservatism itself has been transformed." What this actually means is that the military establishment accepts a *status quo* in the process of slow transformation from liberal to social democracy. The very fact that the soldier, like the civilian, automatically uses "liberal" and "conservative" in reference to social change rather than to political theory indicates that they are a part of the mainstream and not a countercurrent.

One step farther. MacArthur, like the dispossessed generals on the Radical Right, correctly saw the New Deal and subsequent reforms of American society as socialistic. He rather polemically defined socialism as "a centrally controlled economic life [forced] upon all persons in the nation under an authoritarian monopoly that is politically managed." What the crusty dispossessed had failed to see is the essential truth of the partisan quip that reminded Eisenhower in election time that he had lived his entire adult life within the paternalistic institutions of the Federal government.

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How stiffly the generals stand as they point to wilted moral fiber in those who live at the government's expense!

Is it not obvious that the implicit theory of the military establishment today is a pragmatic form of socialism equidistant from Marxism and from liberalism? A form of social democracy perfectly compatible with the post-New Deal changes in American society? To conventional wisdom, the suggestion is absurd. But the social democratic ideal that defines individual liberty as possible only within an institutional context is far closer to the military ethic than is the liberal ideal of Emersonian individualism. Ideals of social service and of social responsibility are closer to the military ethic than is the cult of Economic Man, the Market Place, and the Profit Motive. Social democracy's commitment to planning is closer to the military ethic than is the ideology of laissez-faire. (Or did an "invisible hand" gather the forces that landed at Anzio, Iwo Jima and Omaha Beach?) The ideology that sees and attempts institutionally to mediate social and economic conflicts is closer to the military ethic than is the ideology that begins with the assumption of universal harmony and ends with the insistence that half the world has to be obliterated in a highly moral holocaust. Fifty percent of the Federal budget is devoted to national defense, and the military establishment is committed, whether it understands it or not, to bureaucratic institutions, social controls, red tape and all the rest.

Because the transformation of American society in this century has been from an imperfect liberal democracy to an imperfect social democracy, the American soldier can for the first time in our history square the dictates of his professional ethic with the accepted values and institutions of our society. If only he will. If the military can understand this, if the dogmatically antimilitary Left can understand this, then the professional soldier can without ambivalence and without rebuff join the civilian in search of solutions to real problems: how to preserve individual liberty within institutional structures, how to develop the international institutions that are the only sane alternative to an endless and unstable arms race, how to construct a Great Society that includes all men. Everywhere.

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Winterforms

EDMUND PENNANT

All along I knew of the babies hung in the sycamores
And how, when police made a *cordon sanitaire* in that grove,
Mothers tried the ginkgos on 59th Street and then
Weeping beeches by the mall. But in the name of love,

And because I was certain your normal route of march
Would not be tainted by this passing abomination,
I said nothing, tried to keep the newspapers from you;
I am sorry you read about it in *The Nation.*

I assure you the incident is ended and very soon now
Fall winds will strip all but the conifers stark.
It would make me happy to know you are resuming
Your life-work: *Winterforms of Trees in Central Park.*

✪ EDMUND PENNANT's poetry first appeared in *Yank,* the Army weekly, during World War II. He received in 1962 the national prize of the Poetry Society of America and in 1963 the Hart Crane Award. Mr. Pennant, who is a New York City school principal, has written a number of documentary motion-picture scripts, including one that received a Venice Film Festival citation.

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The Novel of Outrage

A Minority Voice in Postwar American Fiction

IHAB HASSAN

OUTRAGE, WHICH IS MY THEME and hopefully my metaphor, is thought both fashionable and tedious nowadays. This is because we are inclined to deprecate an idea in two ways: we either dismiss it as faddish or else we ignore it as antique. Indeed, a few of us manage to have it both ways. Perhaps I should begin with some effort to reclaim the idea of outrage from our distaste.

Fashions rightly dismay us; they repel our sense of permanence and truth. It is sad to see men, who admittedly cannot bear too much reality, settle for less reality than they can encompass; it is sad to see the unctuous veil of fashion drawn across radical perplexity or pain. Still, we can judge fashions too harshly. If they are a conspicuous mode of spiritual consumption, favored by modern men in search of a chic soul, they also serve as Perseus' shield, reflecting the Medusa face of our time. Fashions sometimes reflect and deflect what men cannot behold directly.

But in the long view reaching back to prehistory, outrage seems less fashionable than antique. Recent studies of African anthropologists, popularized by Robert Ardrey, claim that man is not a tool- but a weapon-wielding animal; as Ardrey baldly states: "Civilization is a compulsory consequence of our killing imperative." Historians are also fond of reminding us that terror and injustice are nothing new; the atrocities of the Thirty Years' War put the atrocities of our century in perspective. I cannot accept the implications of such statements; nor do I believe that the struggle against brutality can be tempered by the knowledge that in the corridors of history there are many torture houses.

✪ This is IHAB HASSAN's third essay on modern literature for the SCHOLAR. Mr. Hassan, who teaches at Wesleyan University, is author of *Radical Innocence: The Contemporary American Novel.*

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I should like to suggest that the idea of modern outrage—and by outrage I really mean a radical threat to man's nature—is best viewed as a dangerous part of our experience, manifest in literature and outside of it. That such an idea may be inherent to our response to art is acknowledged by many artists, primitives and precisionists alike. "Is art always an outrage—must it by its very nature be an outrage?" Lawrence Durrell asks. Durrell does not develop his question, although it is clear from the context that he has the art of Henry Miller foremost in mind. Now whatever we may think of Henry Miller, we can agree that he holds no patent on anguish in contemporary letters. Samuel Beckett, who stands at the other pole from Miller in avant-garde literature, shares with him the feeling of human violation, a violation silent and deep. In any case, we come closer to the meaning of outrage, as it makes itself available to the literary imagination, when we ponder Lionel Trilling's notion that modern literature puts the very being of man on dark trial. Outrage is indeed the final threat to being, the enforced dissolution of the human form; it is *both* the threat and the response to it.

Such may be the final meaning of our term; its more immediate sense can be found in any dictionary. The word implies excess, the passing beyond all bounds; it signifies disorder, extravagance, fury, insolence; it refers to violent injury and gross and wanton offense. Outrage is rage without measure, but its secret rhythm is one of assault and protest, force and counterforce. The demonic and the absurd pervade this rhythm. Outrage, then, as I propose to use the term, is an irrational dialectic of violence threatening the human form, the very nature of man. In this dialectic, action and reaction are compressed, beyond time, in a form of terrible unity.

This is probably too abstract whereas literature cries for concreteness. Consider Ivan Karamazov. His case is infamous; it remained for Camus to bestow on him the ravaged dignity of modern man. To Ivan the whole of creation is a botch. " 'I don't want harmony,' " Ivan says to Alyosha. " 'From love of humanity I don't want it. I would rather be left with unavenged suffering. . . . And so I hasten to give back my entrance ticket. . . . It's not God that I don't accept, Alyosha, only I most respectfully re-

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turn him the ticket.' 'That's rebellion,' murmured Alyosha, looking down." It is indeed metaphysical rebellion. Ivan gives back to God his entrance ticket to this life. Why? Because the life God gave to man is perpetually unjust. Ivan's sad conclusion is, "Everything is permitted." The conclusion leads him to madness, as it leads his lesser shadow, the surly Smerdyakov, first to parricide, then to suicide. The case of Ivan suggests that the response to outrage is a delayed outrage, madness or suicide, the denial of being. "To be nothing—" Camus writes, "that is the cry of the mind exhausted by its own rebellion."

Consider another case. Ivan, we saw, ends mad; Ahab in all likelihood is mad from the start. Ahab does not merely decline his part in creation; he strikes at the heart of it. The passage is well known. Let me quote from it:

> All visible objects, man, are but as pasteboard masks. . . . If man will strike, strike through the mask! How can the prisoner reach outside except by thrusting through the wall? To me, the white whale is that wall, shoved near to me. . . . He tasks me; he heaps me; I see in him outrageous strength, with an inscrutable malice sinewing it. That inscrutable thing is chiefly what I hate. . . . Talk not to me of blasphemy, man; I'd strike the sun if it insulted me. For could the sun do that, then could I do the other . . .

If the sun can commit outrage, so can Ahab. This is the pure logic of violence stated in the voice of berserk pride. Here is the point Melville makes for us: in outrage there is no clear action and reaction, force and response; there is identity and terrible union. Dismembered Ahab strikes, and striking Ahab ends lashed to the body of his arch antagonist, the mutilated whale.

In their moment of trial, then, Ivan and Ahab show us how far metaphysical rebellion can go, and show us too how protest can turn back against the protestant. Ivan and Ahab reveal that true outrage is identity in an awful realm of being; that demonic action and demented passion, becoming one, define a different condition of existence, a new void beyond existence. Outrage, then, unites opposites as a metaphor does; it *is* a kind of existential metaphor. It is a metaphor producing monstrous metamorphoses; in that surreal document of violence, Lautréamont's *The Songs of Maldoror*, we recall that the shark which Maldoror violates and the spider

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which violates him are both transformations of himself. And it is a metaphor producing an inhuman space.

This last point can be clarified by further attention to the nature of violence in the novel. Violence may be temporal; it may act on fictional characters in time. In his definition of "the novel of violence," W. M. Frohock notes: "Their characters tend to be passive victims who change and evolve according to the will of time . . . the real agent, the active force, is time itself." Frohock has in mind the work of American writers of the twenties and thirties: Faulkner, Hemingway, Dos Passos, Wolfe, Farrell and others. The writers who concern me, however, are of a later generation; their use of violence, although it has something in common with earlier uses, shows a different emphasis. The violence I associate with contemporary fiction is not temporal but spatial; it is not historical but ontological; it is an inescapable part of a barren landscape. For force has a withering touch; it turns men into things. Simone Weil understood this, and knew how to interpret both our experience and the experience of Homer's Achaeans in the lurid light of might. Force in the contemporary world, however, is unmediated by ritual and ceremony; it is stark as nothing human or perhaps divine can be. In *The Mortal No,* Frederick J. Hoffman describes five stages in the dehumanization of modern violence. The assailant, the agent of force, is identified first as a person, the author of a *crime passionel;* second as ideological instrument; third as mob; fourth as machine; and last as landscape. The "assailant as landscape" suggests to Hoffman "a total withdrawal of the humanly familiar from both the assailant and the victim. Moreover, the assailant and the victim are both a part of the landscape." This metaphor of violence in a landscape or inscape stripped of everything human is the extreme definition of outrage that my discussion assumes.

Such an idea of violence seems to presage only our nullity, our doom. It is certainly at odds with traditional forms of violence, say, the heroic and purposeful violence of Georges Sorel's revolutionary syndicalism. Yet one is still moved to wonder: if outrage is our metaphor of absence and void, may it not also serve, as Sartre's image of the hole does, as *an appeal to being?* Can we allow our-

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selves to see in it new intimations of an apocalypse? And may not outrage also contain within it the possibilities of rebirth? These are not questions we can glibly answer. Sartre, for that matter, offers us no comfort. "Thus the passion of man is the reverse of that of Christ," Sartre judges, "for man loses himself as man in order that God may be born. But the idea of God is contradictory and we lose ourselves in vain. Man is a useless passion."

Sartre's judgment, however, is not entirely corroborated by the contemporary American novel. The latter, I think, provides us with dramatic images that give a richer sense of my theme. What I have done so far is merely to propose an abstract idea of outrage. Such an idea defines a genre of recent fiction mainly by defining its outer limits. This is to say that in the nearer reaches of terror or violence, the old novel of protest and the new novel of outrage are not always sharply distinct. It is only when we approach a starker horizon that the genre gains some clarity. My intention is to move gradually toward that point, using nine novels as my example.

I begin with an ambiguous novel of outrage, one that also happens to be artistically flawed. William Styron's *Set This House on Fire* (1960) treats, in distraught and melodramatic fashion, the regeneration of Cass Kinsolving. The regeneration of Cass, bumbling, guilt-ridden drunkard that he is, dates from his murder of a degenerate rapist, Mason Flagg. We move in a foggy world which the narrator describes as "a grotesque fantasy of events lacking sequence and order. . ." We are witness to the degradation of Cass at the hands of Flagg who forces him to paint pornographic pictures, to perform before an audience as a seal, and to sing bawdy songs on all fours. Flagg violates Cass's dignity, and to make doubly sure he rapes Cass's beloved Francesca. Violence, however, begets violence; Cass breaks open Flagg's skull with a stone. But the murder, although it may be of questionable justice, proves to be a redemptive act; victim and assailant do not become one. By concealing the murder, Luigi, the police corporal, forces Cass on his own resources; he robs him of the luxury of self-recrimination, the ease of guilt. In his darkest hour, Cass mutters: "And as I sat there . . . I

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knew that I had come to the end of the road and had found nothing at all. There was nothing. . . . I thought of being. I thought of nothingness. I put my head into my hands, and for a moment the sharp horror of *being* seemed so enormous as to make the horror of nothingness less than nothing by its side . . ." This is the brief moment of outrage for Cass, brief because he ends by accepting the burdens of freedom. But *Set This House on Fire* remains a flawed book by a very gifted writer, and one of its moral flaws is that while it brings us artificially close to the facts of violence, it ends by evading them.

The same criticism could be made of James Baldwin's *Another Country* (1962). The novel, although marred by a certain triviality of incident and feeling, is ambitious. Baldwin, as we know, is not used to viewing the racial question discretely; he sees it in an apocalyptic light. "God gave Noah the rainbow sign: No more water, the fire next time!" Hence the sulphurous title of his latest tract for our time. It is a time overcast by heavy clouds: "there seemed to be no way whatever to remove this cloud that stood between them [the friends of Baldwin's youth] and the sun, between them and love and life and power . . ." This sentiment, which finds its source in the condition of outrage, permeates *Another Country*. But the far country that Ida and Rufus, Vivaldo and Eric, Cass and Richard inhabit can be blacker than a Negro's skin; it is the country of *love*. For Baldwin recognizes that the problem of race is at bottom a hunger of flesh and heart; he sees that it is as chaotic in its infinite inversions as the plight of love. The metaphor of outrage in *Another Country* is an erotic metaphor which attempts to embrace victims and tormentors as lovers embrace in bed. Whatever threatens the characters is both absent and ubiquitous. Jowly policemen with baleful eyes, scowling on the streetcorners of Harlem, stand there merely to reflect that invisible threat. The visible tormentors in the book are both Negroes: Rufus, who destroys Leona before taking his own life, and his implacable sister, Ida, who preys on Ellis, the man she despises, and on Vivaldo, the man she loves. Vivaldo is willing to shed his white skin for Ida; but Ida knows the limits of her affections. "Our being together doesn't change the world, Vivaldo," she cries. Nothing is really changed

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because fear corrupts every act. Fear of what? Vivaldo's momentary terror in the discovery of homosexual love, and Ida's ancient terror in the knowledge that her blackness must forever color her love, are finally the same terror of chaos. *Another Country* identifies outrage with chaos which it mitigates with the rhetoric of protest and the poetry of love. It is a pity that the novel sometimes lapses into a sentimental doggerel of sex.

The landscape of chaos fills the vaster spaces of Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* (1952). It is not in love, however, but in irony and in art that Ellison's hero finds his refuge. "Step outside the narrow borders of what men call reality and you step into chaos . . . or imagination," the narrator warns. Scene after surreal scene of the novel proves his warning true. The hero's quest moves not like an arrow but a boomerang, and the search for clarity and light ends underground. "I have been boomeranged across my head so much that I now can see the darkness of lightness," the hero ironically says. "And I love light. Perhaps you'll think it strange that an invisible man should need light, desire light, love light. But maybe it is exactly because I *am* invisible." Light is not white; light, Ellison makes clear, is being, and the invisibility of the hero, who puns desperately on *yam* (I am), is the symbol of his absence. But, once again, the logic of violence asserts itself. The robbers of the hero's identity possess a paler identity than his own. The mad doctor is after all right; addressing the hero, he says: "Behold! a walking zombie! . . . He's invisible, a walking personification of the Negative. . . . The mechanical man!" These words better describe the white philanthropist, Norton, who stands by the invisible man's side as a mirror image of invisibility. Ellison's novel diffracts the light of all colors and shows that the true color of outrage is colorlessness. Such characters as do have a sense of their own being, Clifton or Mary, leave no biography behind; the rest flit about in space like shadows. But the hero at least comes to understand that where blindness prevails, human identity becomes a matter of vision and not of visibility.

Of this first triad of novels, Ellison's probably shows the clearest authority. Like the other novels, however, it marks an initial stage in the fiction of outrage. For outrage in these works is finally

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mediated by a residual faith in man's will, in man's dignity or mind. The assault on the human form is partial; the assailant, although not easily identifiable, appears in some socially recognizable guise. The characters move in a field of violence, but violence has not become total or demonic yet. The characters manage, therefore, to preserve a measure of their humanity; they are men and women we can still accept.

We approach a grimmer phase of outrage in Paul Bowles's *The Sheltering Sky* (1949). The novel has a certain hardness and clarity, like quartz, and has the senselessness of stone. Its characters make no conscious decisions, show no recognizable motives; they are subject to a dumb fatality. Three Americans, Kit and Port Moresby, and Tunner, have turned their backs on the United States and have plunged into the most barbarous part of North Africa. Their journey, flight or search, can only be understood as a given fact, like Port's nihilism, like Kit's passivity, like the frozen love between them. Port, of course, longs for the state of consciousness represented by the vast, reciprocal blankness of the African desert and sky; he has taught himself to "deny all purpose to the phenomenon of existence—it was more expedient and comforting." His absurd death from typhoid is therefore apt. So is the fate of Kit. Driven by Port's death into some corner of her childhood, she walks like a somnambulist into the desert, is raped by two nomads, serves as a concubine in a mud-walled cubicle, and finally disappears in the Casbah, utterly mad. The face of negation is revealed against a pitiless landscape; civilization is stripped of all its masks, and the sheltering sky, ironically, fails to shelter the Moresbys from what lies behind it: "Just Darkness. Absolute Night." Yet Bowles, unlike Camus with whom he invites facile comparisons, does not endow the nihilism of the novel with any moral significance. (This also happens to be true of Bowles's second novel, *Let It Come Down,* which fails to convince us that the murder Dyar commits confers on him a particular status in existence.) What Bowles manages to create, through the detached violence of man and nature, is a gaunt metaphor of man's primal hunger for being, a hunger, Bowles suggests, which can only be satisfied by a surrendering of the Western ego.

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Such a metaphor carries a faint religious aura. The aura is more palpable in James Purdy's novella, "63: Dream Palace." Fenton Riddleway, nineteen, and his younger brother, Claire, recently orphaned, take refuge in a deserted house, in a strange city. They are entirely alone with the smell of rotting wood and the sound of rats' feet; the few people they see move about them like "shades in hell." Fenton, although he fiercely denies God and slaps Claire when the latter speaks of Him, has an apocalyptic sense of doom; for him, it is "the latest time in the world." His blind need is for rebirth, for the resurrection that the lurid signs of the Negro revivalist churches proclaim. His need for rebirth, however, finds tawdry expressions; it is associated with the love and riches promised by the greatwoman, Grainger. Between him and this dream stands Claire; for Claire is the weight of history and the heaviness of love, "so now he wanted Claire to be dead, and despite the fact that the only two people in the world he had loved were Mama and Claire." Fenton, hopped up on some drug, ends by wringing Claire's neck, and after leaving his brother's body to putrefy, he returns to bury him in the attic by match light. The overpowering stench hardly troubles him. "For part of the night he found that he had fallen asleep over Claire's body, and at the very end before he carried him upstairs and deposited him, he forced himself to kiss the dead stained lips he had stopped, and said 'Up we go then, motherfucker.'" Lovelessness, even more than godlessness, Purdy seems to say, is the center of our nonbeing; for even love, in an age of perversity, declares itself as an outrage, binding brothers in a ghoulish pact. Purdy, we see, enacts the violence that a writer like Kafka usually holds in a state of abeyance—it is interesting to compare Purdy's *Malcolm* with Kafka's *Amerika*—and therefore Purdy misses the universality of the latter. He also ends by softening religious terror, deflecting it toward childish desires.

This is scarcely true of the late Flannery O'Connor. Living as a Catholic in the Baptist South, she saw theology run wild, and saw heresy and worship become indistinguishable. Her first novel, *Wise Blood* (1952), may be labeled a study of religious fervor in the grotesque manner; yet we must heed her words when she says,

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"I am interested in the lines that create spiritual motion. It never occurred to me that my novel was grotesque until I read it in the papers." The hero of the novel, Hazel Motes, is a young man with a pure and demonic heart. The descendant of revivalist preachers, he is himself a preacher of the Church Without Christ. Motes brooks no compromises with spiritual hypocrisy; in fact, he murders a fake prophet employed by a rival preacher to deceive the credulous. "No truth behind all truths is what I and this church preach!" Motes cries to the people from the top of a broken-down car. Is this dementia, or is the spectacle of godlessness about Motes enough to convert protest into outrage, and prayer into blasphemy? We know that his demonic purity drives him to blind his eyes with quicklime, wear barbed wire next to his chest, and walk with broken glass in his shoes. Yet is not the fate of Motes, inhuman as it may seem, still brighter than the dehumanized fate of Enoch Emery who makes the stuffed body of a savage his "jesus," and who puts on a gorilla suit to commune with his fellow men? Motes responds to nihilism with fierce negation, reacts to spiritual death with murder and blasphemy; but he also ends by offering himself as a ritual sacrifice. The perpetrator of outrage is at the same time its primary victim. When Motes is found nearly dead in a ditch, and his body is taken to his rapacious landlady, even she can recognize that his violence had struck a "pinpoint of light" in the town's darkness; Motes, she thinks, may be wending his way "back to Bethlehem." (Outrage is even more clearly a prelude to prophecy in Miss O'Connor's later novel, *The Violent Bear It Away* [1960]).

In our second triad of novels, the human form is viciously assaulted while the true nature of the assailant remains unidentified. The characters use no buffers against outrage; they are not socially but metaphysically condemned. Their fate, in this world at least, seems immitigable. Yet they still subsist in a realm where violence, although demonic, serves a sacrificial purpose; it carries them, beyond death or madness, to a deeper consummation of their destiny. It is as if outrage, taking them beyond the common pale of humanity, could substitute for religious experience.

The last three novels I want to mention are neither religious

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nor religiose. Mailer's first work—and it is a mistake to define Mailer's achievement by that work—is surely a profane book. In *The Naked and the Dead* (1948), the primary realities are fear and power; the eternal fact is death. The stench of a dead Japanese soldier fills the nose of Red Valsen who wonders, "Is there really anything special about man?" The sense of futility that emanates from the novel is even larger; the campaign of Anopopei, which Mailer wants us to consider as a focus of History, develops as grim and mechanical exercise in absurdity. Who or what remains human? Even the lives of the characters before the war are represented through the agency of an inexorable "Time Machine": "They were still on the treadmill; the misery, the ennui, the dislocated horror. . . . Things would happen and time would pass, but there was no hope, no anticipation." But the distinctive terror of the novel is not temporal; it is spatial, filling the very air the soldiers breathe with hate or fear. The exercise of power transforms men into objects; this is precisely what happens to Lieutenant Hearn when he is forced by General Cummings to pick up a cigarette butt off the floor. The only two men who exhibit an independent energy of being are demonic, and both fail their demonic dream. General Cummings, sadistic and impotent, does not really win the campaign; victory is the result of a bloody order issued by a bungling aide. And Sergeant Croft, efficient maniac and murderer, fails to climb the mountain against which he pits himself. Both men nurture an idea of their manifest destiny as gods; both are finally driven back to the broken humanity they have helped to break. Mailer shows that outrage is not only a product of military dehumanization; nor is it simply a matter of historical judgment: "I tell you nearly all of humanity is dead, merely waiting to be disinterred," Cummings declares. True outrage, Mailer implies, attends man's dream of omnipotence. For in a universe without value or purpose, the human need for being forces men to assert their godhead, which is a way of asserting meaning as an extension of the self. "I hate everything which is not in myself," Croft believes, and thereby permits himself everything.

In *The Cannibal* (1949), war provides John Hawkes with a

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still more cunning occasion of outrage. Malice is part of Hawkes's comic and poetic art. "If the true purpose of the novel is to assume a significant shape and to objectify the terrifying similarity between the unconscious desires of the solitary man and the disruptive needs of the visible world, then the satiric writer, running maliciously as the head of the mob and creating the shape of his meaningful psychic paradox as he goes, will serve best the novel's purpose," Hawkes states. But if Hawkes is a satirist, his barbs are coldly forged in ancestral fears, and his target is nature which leers at the jocular antics of evil men. Everything in *The Cannibal* is blighted; time is frozen, leaving the history of three wars congealed in a single nightmare. The mayor of Spitzen is too blind to tend his chronicles; the undertaker has run out of fluid for his corpses; all the banners are in the mud. "Rotting sandbags killed the weeds, filled the air with the must of burlap, and when they fell to nothing, left white blotches over the ground." We are placed in a world drained of life and energy, except for the atavistic power of revenge, the corrupt force of illusion. On this scene four events take place; all are murders. An American colonel orders Pastor Miller to be shot; Zizendorf, in revenge, kills two "collaborators"; Zizendorf also plots and accomplishes the murder of Leevey, the lone Jewish American soldier who patrols one third of occupied Germany on a motorcycle; and the mad Duke, who has been stalking Jutta's little boy throughout the novel, finally catches his quarry, kills and eats him. The cycle of retribution, we see, ends by identifying victim and victimizer; the cunning metaphor of outrage is cannibalism, that archaic mode of assault by incorporation. When the novel ends, we are back at the beginning. Violence rules the rotting landscape; the inmates of an insane asylum are at large; and the history of German romantic politics finds on a rutted road the deed that reenacts a universal fantasy of man. Hawkes succeeds, as few others do, in convincing us that terror is not merely a political force; it is also the sick dream of men in search of their own aboriginal self. In the end, the main characters of *The Cannibal* "shut their eyes against the sun."

The characters in William Burroughs' trilogy, which includes *Naked Lunch* (1959), *The Soft Machine* (1961) and *The Ticket*

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that Exploded (1962), are not even conscious of the sun. The characters are somewhat peculiar; insect people and sentient ooze, bloodless signs in a relentless equation of human need, jerky caricatures of a science fiction, engaged in a galactic war. "I offer you nothing. I am not a politician," Burroughs says. He offers a deposition against the human race, a testimony of outrage in the metallic voice of a subtracting machine. His universe is a satiric nightmare, the kind of nightmare machines dream when they dream of culture or of history. A deadly bitterness pervades Burroughs' work: sex is usually perversion or violation, the erotic correlative of deceit; junk is the perfect expression of the Negative, a biological correlative of death; and money is the counter of control and the price of need, a social correlative of exploitation. The politics of Burroughs are elemental: sex, junk and money are all instruments of Authority, and Authority itself is an Infernal Machine. Against Authority, Burroughs proposes Obscenity as a provisional measure and Silence as an ultimate weapon. For Language itself is the final control of the Nova Criminals. To speak, therefore, is to lie; to speak is to surrender. "RUB OUT THE WORD FOREVER." Or if you cannot, adopt at least the "Cut Up Method of Brion Gysin." In *Naked Lunch* the cut up method is used sparingly; Burroughs relies more heavily on the literary techniques of metamorphosis and of hallucination. Both serve to destroy the objective reality of the world, the separate identity of things. This is in keeping with Burroughs' vision of chaos and disintegration. But the technique also serves to emphasize the parasitic nature of his universe: "Larval entities waiting for a Live One." The universe of death is insatiate; there is never enough life to quell its need. Hence Burroughs' outrage, which attempts to redeem creation by abolishing it, abolishing both Word and Flesh. "All right, so you sewed up a planet—now unsew it—. . .Reverse all your gimmicks—. . .Reverse and dismantle your machine. . ." It is hard to decide whether this jocose apocalypse is a consummation of Western nihilism, a rediscovery of Oriental nirvana, or simply a pathological cry against the world.

William Burroughs might have defined for us the extreme limit of outrage had his statement been more subtle or credible.

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His work, nonetheless, portrays a total assault on the human form and a response equally total. Action and reaction merge in that apocalyptic destruction of creation that is the complete metaphor of outrage. Mailer and Hawkes do not go quite so far; but they share with Burroughs his refusal to find a usable content in terror. Their vision of the demonic is like Burroughs': in all these novels, we are truly at a dead end.

We may have now reached the far end of outrage; we have not necessarily reached the artistic apogee of postwar fiction. Obviously, I have limited my view severely. I have not mentioned such writers as Saul Bellow and J. D. Salinger, who exert a wide influence on the contemporary imagination. Nor have I discussed parallel genres of fiction, full of roguish laughter and anarchic exuberance, which reveal a brighter facet of our age.

The novel of outrage remains the voice of a minority. It seeks, nonetheless, to find emblems of our art, rage and mortality. Sometimes it succeeds in creating a genuine metaphor of the terror we live by ignoring. Its artistic resources are conceived in opposition to the idea of culture and to the sense of history. And its literary aim is to evolve a spatial structure, denying time which is, in the words of Joseph Frank, "the very condition of that flux and change which . . . man wishes to escape when he is in a relation of disequilibrium with the cosmos. . ." Yet in this endeavor, the novelists of outrage distinguish themselves from earlier masters, from Proust and Joyce, Eliot and Mann. For it is not myth that provides them with the basis of a spatial form; it is terror; it is the threat of nothingness. This is probably owing to their perception that man is not only "in disequilibrium with the cosmos"; he is also in a state of ontological jeopardy. In the literary uses they make of this perception, the novelists of outrage become part of what I consider the avant-garde movement in current literature, exploiting a fictional genre that may find its origins, as Leslie Fiedler believes, not in the writings of Richardson but of Sade. The movement in America has not yet found a figure of authority comparable to Beckett. Mailer might emerge as such a figure when his "tale of heroes and villains, murderers and suicides, orgy-masters, perverts,

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and passionate lovers," his tale of "lust to capture Time," sees the light of day; and Burroughs might still persuade us that he is the man. Meanwhile, John Hawkes remains our most accomplished author in the genre; and new writers like Hubert Selby, in *Last Exit to Brooklyn,* and Burt Blechman, in *Stations,* make new bids.

Artistic judgments, however, are not the most serious judgments a critic nowadays can make. At a time when literature finds ways to deny, subvert or transcend its own peculiar powers, the critic should court the deeper dangers of his profession. These dangers are revealed mainly in his capacity to judge himself. It might be possible for him then to entertain the possibility that criticism may be futile and that art may be finally irrelevant. The literature of outrage encourages us to take this view. It does so, I think, by its appeal for profound changes in man's condition, its intimations of apocalypse. For if the threat of outrage is indeed an absence of being, can we still hope to dispel the void in humanity by the magic of the Word? And if terror indeed acts as a space machine, turning Flesh into dust, can we still hope to find surcease in the play of consciousness? I propose no answers to these questions that the academic mind usually finds spurious. But neither can I ignore their lurking presence in current literature. Perhaps our task is more modest than these heavy questions seem to require. Perhaps our task is still to make outrage and not literature superfluous, not to kill the Word but to bring the Flesh back to life. Do we need an apocalypse of consciousness to achieve that end? I am certain of one thing only: that the New Sophistication which threatens nowadays to shape our intellectual judgments in such matters will leave us witty, fearful and arid. Perhaps the most serious threat to the life of the spirit in our days comes from those who fear overmuch the terrible excesses of spirit; perhaps the enemy of being is *l'homme moyen intellectuel!*

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Latest Will

LENORE MARSHALL

I, of the City and State of, do declare
This to be my Last Will.
I revoke
All prior Wills and Codicils.

Property real or personal
(Or unreal or impersonal)
Of which I may die
Seized or possessed
Anything to the contrary not-
Withstanding

In respect of securities
(Ah, security, singular, would be enough),
After aforementioned charities,
Paid to the then living issue of such grandchild
Or, if not then living, to
Per stirpes, not per capita,
If they in their absolute discretion

This ring that pressed my flesh
Indenting it with pearly heaviness
(To whom? To whom? What message will it bring?)
Also the special chain, my intricate gold, both links and clasp.
I do bequeath my fallout shelter
Two weeks' supply of biscuits
The flask and dregs that it contains
Unto mine enemy to whom I turn the other fist.
As for my kneeling in the violet meadow

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As for my breathing in the lilac row
As for my sunny brook my snowy brook my fire's glow
To one I love

Hereunder and hereabove.
First (A) I appoint and (B)
If for any reason fail or cease
(If fail in justice, if cease by inner law, I do despair)
I do decree
Which shall be included in my gross estate.
Some interests are subject to foreign death taxes.
(Are some alien interests thus free?)
All the rest, residue, and remainder of every nature and kind
whatsoever and wheresoever and always necessarily hereabo
(But how shall I make an inheritance of love?)
As the case may be.

✪ LENORE MARSHALL is a poet, novelist and short-story writer. Her most recent books include *The Hill Is Level,* a novel, and *Other Knowledge,* a collection of poems.

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Bunch of Violets: A Period Piece

LOUISE TOWNSEND NICHOLL

The Sunday streetcar like a rocking-horse
Bucked gently down Broadway.
On one long seat I sat and, opposite,
I saw them, saw Romance,
Which it was odd so young a child should meet,
In transit, and on such a cantering course.

They were a story told, of two together,
They bore commitment with them, newly sworn,
Transparency of living clear to see.
Her furs were soft and she wore violets,
And formal, shining-eyed, they asked each other
Whether they both would be at someone's dance.

Romance is knit into the bone so soon
I recognized what I could not have known—
The lingering involvement of their glance,
The elegance and decorous ecstasy,
The violets, that Sunday afternoon
When the small streetcar gently pawed Broadway,
Aware of but its own car-going pride
And not of two who seemed
Much more to fly than ride.

✪ LOUISE TOWNSEND NICHOLL, editor and literary adviser, is author of seven volumes of poetry.

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On Death and Death Symbolism

The Hiroshima Disaster

ROBERT JAY LIFTON

The larger a human event, the more its significance eludes us. In the case of Hiroshima's encounter with the atomic bomb—surely a tragic turning point in man's psychological and historical experience—the meaning is perhaps only now, after nineteen years, beginning to reveal itself. Yet the event has much to teach us in our struggle to cope with a world altered more than we realize, and made infinitely more threatening, by the existence of nuclear weapons. I shall describe here a portion of a larger study of the psychological effects of the atomic bomb in Hiroshima, and shall focus upon what I believe to be the central psychological issue in both the actual disaster and its wider symbolism—the problem of death and dying.

The study of death and death symbolism has been relatively neglected in psychiatry and psychoanalysis: in addition to familiar emotional resistances, death confronts us with an issue far beyond our empathic and intellectual capacities. But whatever the difficulties, the nuclear age provides urgent cause for new efforts to enhance our understanding of what has always been man's most ineradicable problem.

I conducted the investigation from April to September of 1962, mostly in Hiroshima itself. This was the last six months of a two and one-half year stay in Japan, the greater part of which was spent investigating psychological and historical patterns of Japanese youth. The Hiroshima study consisted primarily of individual interviews with two groups of atomic bomb survivors: one group of thirty-three chosen at random from the list of more than 90,000 survivors (or *hibakusha*) kept at the Hiroshima University Research Institute for Nuclear Medicine and Biology; and a group of forty-two survivors selected because of their prominence in dealing with A-bomb problems or their capacity to articulate their experiences —physicians, university professors, city officials, politicians, writers and poets, leaders of survivor organizations and peace movements.

Hibakusha, a coined word, by no means an exact equivalent of "survivor" (or survivors), but, literally, "explosion-affected person" (or people), conveys in feeling a little bit more than merely having encountered the bomb, and a little bit less than having experienced definite physical injury from it. By official definition, the category of *hibakusha* includes four groups considered to have had possible exposure to significant amounts of radiation: those who were within the city limits then defined for Hiroshima, an area extending from the bomb's hypocenter for 4,000, and in some places 5,000, meters; those who were not then in the city, but within fourteen days entered a designated area extending for about 2,000 meters from the hypocenter; those who were engaged in some form of aid to, or disposal of, bomb victims at various stations then set up; and those who were *in utero,* and whose mothers fit into

ROBERT JAY LIFTON, Associate Professor of Psychiatry at Yale University, is the author of *Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism,* a study of "brainwashing" in China. Dr. Lifton is primarily interested in individual psychological experience in historical change, and in "extreme situations," particularly in East Asia.

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any of the first three groups. I tried to learn all I could, too, from a variety of sources and in various informal ways, about the extraordinary constellation of influences relating to the bomb felt by the city's inhabitants during these intervening years.

Work in a foreign culture must, of course, depend heavily upon assistance from local individuals and groups. In Hiroshima the sensitivities inherent in the situation of an American psychiatrist's undertaking a study of reactions to the atomic bomb made such assistance particularly imperative. Meetings and interviews were arranged, wherever possible, through personal introduction. And with the randomly selected group, my first contact with the survivor was made through a visit to the home with a Japanese social worker from Hiroshima University, when I briefly explained (either to the survivor himself or to a family member) my purpose in undertaking the work, and arranged for a later meeting at the office I maintained in the city. The consistently cooperative responses I encountered were, I believe, importantly related to my having conveyed to both colleagues and research subjects my sense of personal motivation in the study, my hope that it might shed light on these difficult problems and in a small way contribute to the mastery of nuclear weapons and the avoidance of their use.

Interviews generally lasted two hours, and I tried to see each research subject twice. They were conducted in Japanese, with a research assistant to interpret; the great majority (particularly with subjects in the randomly selected group) were tape-recorded, always with the subject's consent. While I attempted to ask certain questions of all subjects, I encouraged each person to associate freely to whatever ideas and emotions were brought up.

I shall discuss in this paper, in sequence, the psychological aspects of four different stages of experience with death—that is, of what I have called the permanent encounter with death. Then, in the latter portion, I shall attempt to suggest a few general principles in the difficult area of the psychology of death and dying, essentially derived from this investigation but by no means limited to the Hiroshima experience.

Immersion in Death. The overwhelming immersion in death directly following the bomb's fall began with the terrible array of dead and near-dead in the midst of which each survivor found himself. Important here was the extreme sense of surprise and unpreparedness: because, following an air raid alarm, an all-clear signal had been sounded just a few minutes before; because of the psychological sense of invulnerability all people tend to possess, even in the face of danger; and because of the total inability of anyone to anticipate the unprecedented dimensions of the weapon about to strike. The number of deaths, both immediate and over a period of time, will probably never be fully known. Variously estimated from 63,000 to 240,000 or more, the official figure is usually given as 78,000, but the city of Hiroshima estimates 200,000; the enormous disparity is related to the extreme confusion at the time, to differing methods of calculation, and to underlying emotional influences at times affecting the estimators. But anyone exposed relatively near the center of the city could not escape from the sense of ubiquitous death around him—from the blast itself, from radiant heat, and from ionizing radiation. For instance, if one were within 1,000 meters (.6 miles) from the hypocenter, and out-of-doors (that is, without benefit of shielding from heat or radiation), more than nine-tenths of the people around one were fatalities; and if unshielded at 2,000 meters (1.2 miles), more than eight of ten people around one were killed. For those indoors mortality was lower, but even then to have a fifty percent chance of escaping both death and injury, one had to be about 2,200 meters (1.3 miles) from the hypocenter. Therefore the most significant psychological feature at that point was the sense of a sudden and absolute shift from normal existence to an overwhelming encounter with death.

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Recall of the experience was extremely vivid, despite the seventeen-year interval. But for those closest to the hypocenter, first memories of the event were frequently no more than that of a sudden flash, an intense sensation of heat, the recollection of being knocked down or thrown across the room and finding oneself pinned under debris, or simply of awakening from an indeterminate period of unconsciousness. Nonetheless, many stressed (partly, undoubtedly, with retrospective reconstruction) feelings related to death and dying—such as: "My first feeling was, 'I think I will die' "; "I was dying without seeing my parents"; and, "I felt I was going to suffocate and then die, without knowing exactly what had happened to me."

Beyond this sense of imminent individual death was the feeling of many that the whole world was dying.

A science professor, covered by falling debris, found himself temporarily blinded:

> My body seemed all black, everything seemed dark, dark all over . . . . Then I thought, "The world is ending."

A Protestant minister, himself uninjured, responded to the mutilation and destruction he saw everywhere around him:

> The feeling I had was that everyone was dead. The whole city was destroyed . . . . I thought all of my family must be dead—it doesn't matter if I die . . . . I thought this was the end of Hiroshima—of Japan—of humankind.

And a woman writer:

> I just could not understand why our surroundings had changed so greatly in one instant . . . . I thought it might have been something which had nothing to do with the war, the collapse of the earth which it was said would take place at the end of the world, and which I had read about as a child. It was quiet around us. In fact there was a fearful silence, which made one feel that all people and all trees and vegetation were dead.

This "deathly silence" was consistently reported by survivors. Rather than wild panic, most described a ghastly stillness and a sense of slow motion: low moans from those incapacitated, the rest fleeing, but usually not rapidly, from the destruction, toward the rivers (whose many branches run through the city), toward where there were thought to be family members, authorities of some sort, medical personnel, or simply accumulations of people; or in many cases merely moving along with a gathering crowd and with no clear destination. This feeling of *death in life* was described by a store clerk as follows:

> The appearance of people was . . . . well, they all had skin blackened by burns . . . . They had no hair because their hair was burned, and at a glance you couldn't tell whether you were looking at them from in front or in back . . . . They held their arms bent [forward] like this [and he proceeded to demonstrate their position] . . . . and their skin—not only on their hands, but on their faces and bodies too—hung down . . . . If there had been only one or two such people . . . . perhaps I would not have had such a strong impression. But wherever I walked I met these people . . . . Many of them died along the road—I can still picture them in my mind—like walking ghosts . . . . They didn't look like people of this world . . . . They had a special way of walking—very slowly . . . . I myself was one of them.

Characteristic here is the other-worldly grotesqueness of the scene, the image of neither-dead-nor-alive human figures with whom the survivor closely identifies himself. Similar emotions were conveyed by the frequently expressed imagery of a Buddhist hell—or as one man put it, "I was not really alive."

We are struck here by the intensity of feelings of helplessness and abandonment—not simply in themselves, but rather helplessness and abandonment in the face of threatened annihilation. The *hibakusha* fears annihilation of his own self, and also his sense of relationship to the world of people and objects in which he exists. He anticipates the annihilation of both the field or context of his existence and his attachment to it—reminding us of what the existentialists mean when they speak of "being-in-the-world," and also reminding us of recent psychoanalytic stress on the sig-

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nificance of the "nonhuman environment." And he fears the annihilation of that special set of feelings and beliefs that both relate him to others and allow for his sense of being a unique and particular person—in other words his sense of inner identity. This *anticipation of annihilation*—of self, of being, of identity—was related to overwhelming stimuli, an ultimate sense of threat that has been referred to by such names as "basic fear," and "the fear of the universe."

Indeed so overwhelming was this experience that many would have undoubtedly become psychotic were it not for the extremely widespread and effective defense mechanism I have called "psychic closing-off." In the face of grotesque evidences of death and near-death, people simply ceased to feel. They had a clear sense of what was happening around them, but their emotional reactions were unconsciously turned off.

A physicist compared the process to an overexposed photographic plate. A clerk who witnessed others dying around him at a temporary first-aid area said, "I just couldn't have any reaction . . . you might say I became insensitive to human death." And the woman writer quoted before described "a feeling of paralysis that came over my mind."

The unconscious process here is that of closing oneself off from death itself; the controlling inner idea, or fantasy, is, "If I feel nothing, then death is not taking place." Psychic closing-off is related to the defense mechanisms of denial and isolation, as well as to the behavioral state of apathy. But it deserves to be distinguished from these by its sudden, global quality, by the protective symbolic screen it throws out enabling the organism to resist the impact of death—that is, to survive psychologically in the midst of death and dying. It may well represent man's most characteristic response to catastrophe: at times life-enhancing, or even, psychologically speaking, life-saving; but at other times, particularly when prolonged and no longer appropriate to the threat, not without its own dangers. Certainly the investigator of nuclear disaster finds himself experiencing a measure of such closing-off, as indeed does the reader of an account such as this one.

Psychic closing-off has, however, its limitations even as a protective reaction. It cannot entirely succeed in neutralizing either the threatening stimuli from without nor those from within—the latter taking the form of self-condemnation—of guilt and shame. For at the very beginning of the atomic bomb experience there is initiated a need for justifying one's own survival in the face of others' deaths, a form of guilt that plagues the atomic bomb survivor from then on. *Such quick self-condemnation intensifies the lasting imprint of death created by this early phase of atomic bomb exposure.* Contained within this imprint is something very close to witnessing in actuality that which ordinarily takes place only in psychotic fantasy—an end-of-the-world experience. Normally a projection of inner psychological "death" onto the outside world, the process is here reversed so that an overwhelming external experience of near-absolute destruction becomes internalized and merged with related tendencies of the inner life.

A type of memory that symbolizes this relationship of death to guilt is contained in what I have called the *ultimate horror*—a specific image of the dead or dying with which the survivor strongly identifies himself, and which evokes in him particularly intense feelings of pity and self-condemnation. The scene may include his own family members, or anonymous people in grotesque physical array; or, as was frequent, pitiful images of women and children, universal symbols of purity and vulnerability, and especially so in Japanese culture.

One particular form of "ultimate horror" seemed to epitomize the association of death and guilt. It was the recollection of requests of the dying which could not be carried out, most specifically their pleas for a few sips of water. Water was withheld not only because of survivors' preoccupation with saving themselves and their own

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families, but because authorities spread the word that water would have harmful effects upon the severely injured. The request for water by the dying, however, has special significance in Japanese tradition, as it is related to an ancient belief that water can restore life by bringing back the spirit that has just departed from the body. These pleas were therefore as much psychological expressions of this belief as they were of physical need; indeed one might say that they were pleas for life itself. The survivor's failure to acquiesce to them, whatever his reasons, could thus have the psychological significance to him of refusing a request for the privilege of life—while he clung so tenaciously to that same privilege.

INVISIBLE CONTAMINATION. The second encounter with death took the form of *invisible contamination*. Almost immediately after the bomb fell—sometimes within hours or even minutes, often during the first twenty-four hours, and during the following days—*hibakusha* became aware of a strange form of illness. It consisted of nausea, vomiting, and loss of appetite; diarrhea with large amounts of blood in the stools; fever and weakness; purple spots on various parts of the body from bleeding into the skin (purpura); inflammation and ulceration of the mouth, throat, and gums (orapharyngeal lesions and gingivitis); bleeding from the mouth, gums, nose, throat, rectum and urinary tract (hemorrhagic manifestations); loss of hair from the scalp and other parts of the body (epilation); extremely low white blood cell counts when these were taken (leukopenia) and in many cases a progressive course until death. These symptoms of irradiation, and particularly the associated fatalities, aroused in the minds of the people of Hiroshima a special terror, an image of a weapon that not only kills and destroys on a colossal scale but leaves in the bodies of the exposed deadly influences which may emerge at any time and strike down their victims. This image was made particularly vivid by the delayed appearance of these radiation effects—often two to four weeks after the bomb fell—in people who had seemed in perfect health, externally untouched by atomic bomb effects.

No one at first understood the cause of the symptoms, and in the few functioning medical facilities, isolation procedures were instituted in the belief that they were part of some infectious gastrointestinal condition. Ordinary people also suspected some form of epidemic, possibly in the nature of cholera. But very quickly, partly in response to word-of-mouth information and misinformation about the atomic bomb, people began to relate the condition to a mysterious "poison" emanating from the weapon. Whatever their idea of cause, survivors were profoundly impressed by the fact of others dying around them and the way in which they died: a gruesome form of rapid bodily deterioration that seemed unrelated to more usual and "decent" forms of death. They were struck particularly by the loss of scalp hair, the purple spots on the skin, and the way in which victims appeared to remain conscious and alert almost to the moment of their death. As a middle-aged electrician relates:

> There was one man who asked me for help and everything he said was clear and normal . . . . But in another three hours or so when I looked at him he was already dead . . . . And even those who looked as though they would be spared were not spared . . . . People seemed to inhale something from the air which we could not see . . . . The way they died was different . . . . and strange.

Some were intrigued by the weirdness of the symptoms—as in the case of a doctor quoted in a later written account:

> I know it is terrible to say this, but those spots were beautiful. They were just like stars—red, green, yellow, and black . . . . all over the body, and I was fascinated by them.

But the predominant feeling among survivors was that they were imminently threatened by this same "poison"—as conveyed in such statements as: "Soon we were all worried about our health, about our bodies—whether we would live or die";

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"I thought, 'sooner or later I too will die' .... I never knew when some sign of the disease would show itself"; and, "We waited for our own deaths."

The nature of the death symbolism here was revealed in three rumors which swept Hiroshima during the period immediately following the bomb. The first rumor simply held that all those who had been exposed to the bomb in the city would be dead within three years. The psychological message here was: none can escape the "poison"; the "epidemic" is total; all shall die.

But a second rumor, even more frequently related to me, and, I believe, with greater emotion, was that trees, grass, and flowers would never again grow in Hiroshima; from that day on the city would be unable to sustain vegetation of any kind. The message here was: nature was drying up altogether; life was being extinguished at its source—suggesting an ultimate form of desolation which not only encompassed human death but went beyond it.

The third rumor, closely related to the other two, held that for a period of seventy or seventy-five years Hiroshima would be uninhabitable. Here was the sense that Hiroshima was to become totally deurbanized—literally, devitalized—that the bomb's invisible contamination had deprived the involved area of its life-sustaining capacity.

Other rumors, particularly during the first few days after the bomb fell, expressed further ramifications of these emotions: there would be new attacks with "poison gases" or "burning oil"; America would next drop a "cold bomb" (or "ice bomb") which would freeze everything so that everyone would die. There was even a rumor that America would drop rotten pigs so that, as one man put it, "everything on the earth would decay and go bad." These additional rumors conveyed the sense that the environment had been so fundamentally disturbed, and the individual sense of security (and invulnerability) so threatened, that further life-annihilating assaults must be anticipated.

We may thus summarize the psychological aspects of the second encounter with death: fear of epidemic contamination to the point of bodily deterioration; a sense of individual powerlessness before an invisible, all-enveloping, and highly mysterious posion; the sense, often largely unconscious and only indirectly communicated, that this *total contamination* must have a supernatural, or at least more-than-natural, origin, must be something in the nature of a curse with which one's group is afflicted as a punishment for some wrongdoing that has offended the supernatural forces which control life and death. This was occasionally made explicit in, for instance, survivors' Buddhist references to misbehavior in previous incarnations; it was implicit in their repeated expressions of awe, in the elaborate mythology they created around the event, and in their various forms of self-condemnation.

"A-bomb Disease." The third encounter with death occurred with later radiation effects, not months but years after the atomic bomb, and may be summed up in the scientifically inaccurate but emotionally charged term, "A-bomb disease." The medical condition that has become the model for "A-bomb disease" is leukemia, based upon the actual increased incidence of this always fatal malignancy of the blood-forming organs, first noted in 1948 and reaching a peak between 1950 and 1952. The symptoms of leukemia, moreover, resemble those of acute radiation effects, sharing various manifestations of blood abnormalities, as well as the more visible and dreaded "purple spots" and other forms of hemorrhage, progressive weakness, and fever, although leukemia differs from acute irradiation in that it inevitably results in death.

Psychologically speaking, leukemia—or the threat of leukemia—became an indefinite extension of the earlier "invisible contamination" of which we have spoken. And individual cases of leukemia in children have become the counterpart of the "ultimate horror" described in relation to the first moments of the experience, sym-

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bolizing once more the bomb's desecration of the most pure and vulnerable—of childhood itself. Indeed, Hiroshima's equivalent of an Anne Frank legend has developed from a case of leukemia in a twelve-year-old girl, Sadako Sasaki, which occurred in 1954; her death led to a national campaign for the construction of a monument (which now stands prominently in the center of Hiroshima's Peace Park) to this child and to all other children who have died as a result of the atomic bomb.

And just at the time that the incidence of leukemia was recognized as diminishing and approaching the normal, evidence has accumulated that the incidence of other forms of cancer has been increasing among survivors—including carcinoma of the stomach, lung, thyroid, ovary, and uterine cervix. Leukemia is a rare disease (even with its increased incidence, only 122 cases were reported in Hiroshima between 1945 and 1959), but cancer is not; and should the trend continue, as appears likely, the increase in cancer will undoubtedly give further stimulus to various elaborations of death symbolism, just as some of these were beginning to decline. Thus, we again see evoked the feeling that the bomb can do anything, and that anything it does is likely to be fatal.

Other medical conditions have been thought to be produced by delayed radiation effects: impairment in the growth and development of children; a variety of anemias and of liver and blood diseases; endocrine and skin disorders; impairment of central nervous system (particularly midbrain) function; premature aging; and a vague but persistently reported borderline condition of general weakness and debilitation. The exact consequences of radiation effects remain in many areas controversial, and are still under active investigation by both American and Japanese groups. What concerns us here, however, is the association in the minds of survivors of any kind of ailment with atomic bomb effects—whether it be fatigue, mild anemia, fulminating leukemia, or ordinary cardiovascular disease; whether there is no apparent scientific relationship to radiation effects, whether such a relationship may be presumed as probable, or whether such a relationship is possible but inconclusive. Bodily concerns of survivors are also intensified by the continuous publicizing of "A-bomb disease" by the mass media and by survivor and peace organizations, often in the form of lurid reports of patients dying in the "A-bomb hospital" (a special facility set up for the exposed population) of "A-bomb disease." Even though the relationship between the actual condition and the atomic bomb effects may be questionable, the ordinary survivor tends to identify himself directly with the victim and with the process of dying. As one man stated, "When I hear about people who die from A-bomb disease. . . . then I feel that I am the same kind of person as they."

The survivor thus becomes involved in a vicious circle on the psychosomatic plane of existence: he is likely to associate even the mildest everyday injury or sickness with possible radiation effects; and anything he relates to radiation effects becomes in turn associated with death. The process is accentuated, although not created, by the strong Japanese cultural focus upon bodily symptoms as expressions of anxiety and conflict. The psychosomatic dilemma can also take on complicated ramifications. For instance, some survivors develop vague borderline symptoms, inwardly fear that these might be evidence of fatal "A-bomb disease," but resist seeking medical care because they do not wish to be confronted by this diagnosis. When such a pattern occurs in relationship to physical disease, we usually refer to it as "denial of illness"; but here the "illness" being denied is itself likely to be a symbolic product of psychological currents; and the "denial" is a specific response to the associated death symbolism. Others become involved in a lifelong preoccupation with "A-bomb disease," sometimes referred to by Hiroshima physicians as "A-bomb neurosis"; they become weak and sometimes bedridden, focus constantly upon their blood counts and bodily symptoms, and struggle with an in-

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tricate inner balance between the need for their symptoms as an expression of various psychological conflicts on the one hand, and the anxious association of these symptoms with death and dying on the other. At best, survivors find themselves constantly plagued with what we may call the "nagging doubt" about the possibility of radiation effects, and look upon themselves as people who are particularly vulnerable, who cannot afford to take chances.

Beyond their own sense of impaired body-image, survivors fear that this impairment will manifest itself in subsequent generations. Genetic effects from the A-bomb are a controversial and unresolved issue. Fortunately, studies on comparative populations have revealed no increase in abnormalities among children of survivors. But it is widely known that such abnormalities can be caused by radiation, and there are again the problems of variation in medical opinion (a few Japanese pathologists think that some evidence of increase in genetic abnormalities exists), and of lurid, sometimes irresponsible, journalistic reports. There is, however, one uncomfortably positive genetic finding among significantly exposed survivors, that of a disturbance of sex ratio of offspring, the significance of which is difficult to evaluate. Still another factor in survivors' psychological associations has been the definite damage from radiation experienced by children exposed *in utero,* including the occurrence of microcephaly with and without mental retardation; this phenomenon is, scientifically speaking, quite unrelated to genetic effects, but ordinary people often fail to make the distinction.

We may say that, at this third level of encounter with death, the sudden "curse" we spoke of becomes an *enduring taint*—a taint of death that attaches itself not only to one's entire psychobiological organism, but to one's posterity. Although in most cases able to live, work, marry, and beget children in more or less normal fashion, survivors have the sense of being involved in an *endless chain of potentially lethal impairment* which, if it does not manifest itself in one year—or in one generation—may well make itself felt in the next. Once more elements of guilt and shame become closely involved with this taint; but rather than a product of an acute epidemic-like experience, the whole constellation is perceived as a permanent and infinitely transmissible form of impaired body substance.

Identity of the Dead. This brings us to the fourth level of encounter, that of a lifelong identification with death, dying, and with an anonymous group of "the dead." Indeed the continuous encounter with death, in the sequence described, has much to do with creating a sense of group identity as *hibakusha,* or survivors. But it is an unwanted, or at best ambivalent, identity, symbolized externally by disfigurement—that is, by keloid scars which, although possessed only by a small minority of survivors, have come to represent the stigmata of atomic bomb exposure.

A central conflict of this *hibakusha* identity is the problem of what I have come to speak of as *survival priority*—the inner question of why one has survived while so many have died, the inevitable self-condemnation in the face of others' deaths. *For the survivor can never, inwardly, simply conclude that it was logical and right for him, and not others, to survive. Rather, I would hold, he is bound by an unconscious perception of organic social balance which makes him feel that his survival was made possible by others' deaths: if they had not died, he would have had to; and if he had not survived, someone else would have.* This kind of guilt may well be that most fundamental to human existence. Additional factors also contribute greatly to guilt feelings: the survivor's relief, even joy, that it was the other and not he who died; previous death wishes he may have had toward parents who denied him nurturence he craved, or toward siblings who competed for this nurturence, whether guilt is directly experienced in relationship to the actual death of these family members, or indirectly through unconsciously

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relating such wishes to the death of any "other," however anonymous.

In ordinary mourning experiences, and in most ordinary disasters, this guilt may be resolved through the classical psychological steps of the mourning process. But my impression was that here such resolution has been either minimal or at best incomplete. As in other mourning experiences, survivors have identified themselves with the dead (both as specific people and as an anonymous concept), and have incorporated the dead into their own beings; indeed we might say that survivors have imbibed and incorporated the entire destruction of their city, and in fact the full atomic bomb experience. But they have found no adequate ideological interpretation—no spiritual explanation, no "reason" for the disaster—that might release them from this identification. They have felt compelled virtually to merge with the dead and to behave, in a great variety of ways, *as if* they too were dead. Not only do they judge all behavior by the degree of respect it demonstrates toward the dead, but they tend to condemn almost any effort that suggests strong self-assertion or vitality, that is, which suggests life.

The *hibakusha* identity, then, in a significant symbolic sense, becomes an identity of the dead—taking the following inner sequence: I almost died; I should have died; I did die, or at least am not really alive; or if I am alive it is impure for me to be so; and anything I do that affirms life is also impure and an insult to the dead, who alone are pure. Of great importance here, of course, is the Japanese cultural stress upon continuity between the living and the dead; but the identity sequence also has specific relationship to the nature of the disaster itself.

Yet one must not conclude that all survivors are therefore suicidal. This is by no means the case, and I was in fact struck by the tenacity with which *hibakusha,* at all of the stages mentioned, have held on to life. This identification with death—this whole constellation of inwardly experienced death symbolism—is, paradoxically enough, the survivor's means of maintaining life. In the face of the burden of guilt he carries with him, and particularly the guilt of survival priority, his obeisance before the dead is his best means of justifying and maintaining his own existence. But it remains an existence with a large shadow cast across it, a life that, in a powerful symbolic sense, the survivor does not feel to be his own.

General Principles. The interrelationship between the anticipation of death and the conduct of life has been recognized and commented upon by generations of philosophers, although mentioned with surprising infrequency in psychiatric work. There are many signs that this psychiatric neglect is in the process of being remedied, and the significance of problems in this area so impresses itself upon us in our present age that matters of death and dying could well serve as a nucleus for an entire psychology of life. But I will do no more than state a few principles that I have found a useful beginning for comprehending the Hiroshima experience, relating it to universal human concerns, and examining some of the impact upon our lives of the existence of nuclear weapons. Attempting even this much is audacious enough to warrant pause and examination of some rather restraining words of Freud:

> It is indeed impossible to imagine our own death; and whenever we attempt to do so we can perceive that we are in fact still present as spectators. Hence the psychoanalytic school could venture on the assertion that at bottom no one believes in his own death, or, to put the same thing in another way, that in the unconscious every one of us is convinced of his own immortality.

These words from his essay, "Thought for the Times on War and Death," were written in 1915, about six months after the outbreak of World War I, and have found many recent echoes. (Merleau-Ponty, the distinguished French philosopher, has said, "Neither my birth nor my death can appear to me as *my* experience . . . I can only grasp myself as 'already born' and

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'still living'—grasping my birth and death only as pre-personal horizons.")

Profound as Freud's words are, psychological investigations of death may have been unduly retarded by them. For they represent the kind of insight that, precisely because of its importance and validity, must be questioned further and even transcended. I believe it is more nearly correct to say that our own death—or at least our own dying—is not entirely unimaginable but can be imagined only with a considerable degree of distance, blurring, and denial; that we are not absolutely convinced of our own immortality, but have a need to maintain a *sense of immortality* in the face of inevitable biological death; and that this need represents not only the inability of the individual unconscious to recognize the possibility of its own demise but also a compelling universal urge to maintain an inner sense of continuous symbolic relationship, over time and space, to the various elements of life. Nor is this need to transcend biological life *mere* denial (although denial becomes importantly associated with it): rather it is part of the organism's psychobiological quest for mastery, part of an innate imagery apparently present in man's mind since the earliest periods of his history and prehistory. This point of view is consistent with that of Joseph Campbell, the distinguished student of comparative mythology, who has likened such innate imagery or "elementary ideas" to the "innate releasing mechanisms" described by contemporary ethologists. It also bears some resemblance to Otto Rank's stress upon man's long-standing need of "an assurance of eternal survival for his self," and to Rank's assertion that "Man creates culture by changing natural conditions in order to maintain his spiritual self."

This sense of immortality may be expressed through any of several modes:

First, biologically—or, more correctly, biosocially—by means of family continuity, living on through (but in an emotional sense, *with*) our sons and daughters and their sons and daughters, by imagining (however vaguely and at whatever level of consciousness) an endless chain of biological attachment. This has been the classical expression of the sense of individual immortality in East Asian culture, as emphasized by the traditional Chinese family system, and to a somewhat lesser extent by the Japanese family system as well. But it is of enormous universal importance, perhaps the most universally significant of all modes. This biological mode of immortality never remains purely biological; rather it is experienced psychically and symbolically, and in varying degree extends itself into social dimensions, into the sense of surviving through one's tribe, organization, people, nation, or even species. On the whole this movement from the biological to the social has been erratic and in various ways precarious; but some, like Julian Huxley and Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, see it as taking on increasing significance during the course of human evolution. If this is so, individual man's sense of immortality may increasingly derive from his inner conviction, "I live on through mankind."

Second, a sense of immortality may be achieved through a theologically-based idea of a life after death, not only as a form of "survival" but even as a "release" from profane life burdens into a "higher" form of existence. Some such concept has been present in all of the world's great religions and throughout human mythology. The details of life after death have been vague and logically contradictory in most theologies, since the symbolic psychological theme of transcending death takes precedence over consistency of concrete elaboration. Christianity has perhaps been most explicit in its doctrine of life after death, and most demanding of commitment to this doctrine; but intra-Christian debate over interpretation of doctrine has never ceased, with present thought tending toward a stress upon transcendent symbolism rather than literal belief.

Third, and this is partly an extension of the first two modes, a sense of immortality through one's creative works or human

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influences—one's writings, art, thought, inventions, or lasting products of any kind that have an effect upon other human beings. (In this sense lasting therapeutic influences upon patients, who in turn transmit them to their posterity, can be a mode of immortality for physicians and psychotherapists.) Certainly this form of immortality has particular importance for intellectuals conscious of participating in the general flow of human creativity, but applies in some measure to all human beings in their unconscious perceptions of the legacy they leave for others.

Fourth, a sense of immortality through being survived by nature itself: the perception that natural elements—limitless in space and time—remain. I found this mode of immortality to be particularly vivid among Japanese, steeped as their culture is in nature symbolism; but various expressions of Western tradition (the Romantic Movement, for instance) have also placed great emphasis upon it. We can probably safely say—and here comparative mythology again gives us support—that there is a universal psychic imagery in which nature represents an "ultimate" aspect of existence.

These psychological modes of immortality are not merely problems one ponders when dying; they are constantly (if often indirectly or unconsciously) perceived standards by which we evaluate our lives. They thus enable us to examine the part played by death and death symbolism during ordinary existence, which is what we mean by the beginnings of a death-oriented psychology of life. Let us then put forth three propositions, all of them dealing with death as a standard for, or test of, some aspect of life.

1. Death is anticipated as a *severance of the sense of connection*—of the inner sense of organic relationship to the various elements, and particularly to the people and groups of people, most necessary to our feelings of continuity and relatedness. Death is therefore a test of this sense of connection in that it threatens us with that which is most intolerable: *total severance.* Indeed all of the modes of immortality mentioned are symbolic reflections of that part of the human psychic equipment which protects us from such severance and isolation.

Another expression of the threat to the sense of connection represented by death is the profound ambivalence of individuals in every culture toward the dead. One embraces the dead, supplicates oneself before them, and creates rituals to perpetuate one's relationship to them, and (as we saw so vividly in the case of the Hiroshima survivors) to attenuate one's guilt over survival priority. But one also pushes away the dead, considers them tainted and unclean, dangerous and threatening, precisely because they symbolize a break in the sense of connection and threaten to undermine it within the living. These patterns too were strongly present in Hiroshima survivors (and can be found in general Japanese cultural practice), although less consciously acceptable and therefore more indirectly expressed. Indeed, in virtually every culture the failure of the living to enact the rituals necessary to appease the dead is thought to so anger the latter (or their sacred representatives) as to bring about dangerous retribution—punishment for this failure to atone for the guilt of survival priority.

2. Our second proposition is that death is a test of the meaning of life, of the symbolic integrity of the life one has been living. This is a more familiar concept, closely related to ideas that have long been put forth in literature and philosophy, as well as in certain psychoanalytic writings of Freud, Rank and Jung; and it has a variety of manifestations. One is the utilization of a *way or style of dying* as an epitome of life's significance. In the Japanese *samurai* code, a heroic form of death in battle on behalf of one's lord was the ultimate expression of the meaning of life. Various cultures and subcultures have similarly set up an ideal style of dying, rarely perfectly realized, but nonetheless a powerful standard for the living. The anticipation of dying nobly, or at least appropriately—of

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dying for a meaningful purpose—is an expression of those modes of immortality related both to man's works (his lasting influences) and his biosocial continuity. Much of the passionate attraction man has felt toward death can, I believe, be understood as reflecting the sense that only in meaningful death can one simultaneously achieve a sense of immortality and articulate the meaning of life.

Timing and readiness play an important part. Can one visualize, in association with death, sufficient accomplishment to justify one's life? Or has life become so burdensome and devoid of meaning that death itself (whatever the style of dying) seems more appropriate? This was the case with a remarkable group of people undergoing surgery recently described by Avery Weisman and Thomas P. Hackett. These "predilection patients" were neither excessively anxious nor depressed, and yet correctly predicted their own deaths. For them, "death held more appeal . . . than did life because it promised either reunion with lost love, resolution of long conflict, or respite from anguish," and we are led to conclude that this psychological state interacted with their organic pathology and their reactions to surgical procedures to influence significantly the timing of their deaths. Their surrender to death, we may say, was related to their sense that they could no longer justify their continuing survival.

A classical literary expression of anticipated death as a test of the integrity of one's entire life (and one which has inspired many commentaries) occurs in Tolstoi's *The Death of Ivan Ilych*. Here the protagonist, in becoming aware of the incurable nature of his illness, reviews his past and is tormented by the thought that "the whole arrangement of his life and of his family, and all his social and official interests, might all have been false," and that the only authentic expressions of his life have been "those scarcely noticeable impulses which he had immediately suppressed." His lament in the face of approaching death is that of wasted opportunity ("I have lost all that was given me and it is impossible to rectify it") and existential guilt: the awareness of the enormous gap between what he has been and what he feels he might have been. But his torment disappears through a sudden spiritual revelation, his own capacity to feel love and pity for his wife and son. At that point, for Ivan Ilych, "death" disappears: "Death is finished . . . it is no more!" "Death" had meant emptiness, the termination of a life without significance; death has been transcended through a revelation that revivified Ivan Ilych's sense of immortality by transporting him, even momentarily, into a realm of what he could perceive as authentic experience, and one in which he could feel in contact with eternal human values of pity and love, whether these were derived from a theologically-defined supernatural source, or from man's own creative works and influences.

Highly significant in Ivan Ilych's search for integrity was his disgust for the lying and evasiveness of those around him concerning the true nature of his illness (and concerning everything else), his yearning for an end to "this falsity around and within him [which] did more than anything else to poison his last days." But we may say that his family members were incapable of acting otherwise, because their deception was also self-deception, their own need to deny death; and because they were immersed in their own guilt over survival priority in relationship to Ivan Ilych—guilt made particularly intense by their hypocrisy, lack of love for him, and relief that death was claiming him and not them. Similar emotions were present in his colleagues and friends immediately after his death: "Each one thought or felt, 'Well, he's dead but I'm alive!' " The one voice of integrity around Ivan Ilych was that of a simple peasant servant who made no effort to hide from him the fact that he was dying but instead helped him understand that death is, after all, the fate of everyone, that "We shall all of us die." Here we may say that the "survivor" lessens the emotional

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gap between himself and the dying man by stressing their shared destiny; this in turn enables the dying man to see his experience in relationship to the larger rhythms of life and death, and thereby awakens his biologically-linked mode of immortality.

Very similar in theme to the death of Ivan Ilych, and probably influenced by it, is a recent Japanese film made by the accomplished director, Akira Kurosawa, *Ikiru* (To Live). The film is also about a dying man who critically reviews his life: a petty official whose past actions had been characterized by bureaucratic evasion, and who overcomes his self-condemnation by an almost superhuman dedication to a final task, the building of a park for children. He thus achieves his sense of immortality mainly by his "works," by the final monument he leaves behind for others (even though surviving fellow-bureaucrats, who had actually tried to block the enterprise, claim complete credit for it). This form of immortality is more consistent with East Asian stress upon the contribution to the social order—and with the Japanese *deification of the human matrix*—than is the Western mode of spiritual revelation or faith expressed in the Tolstoi story. Moreover, in the sequence of the bureaucrat's behavior on discovering he was dying—first his withdrawal into petulant inactivity and then his extraordinary rush of productive energy—we find evidence of the East Asian tendency to deal with problems of despair over life and death by means of a polarity of purposeless withdrawal or active involvement, rather than by the more characteristically Western pattern of self-lacerating inner struggle against the forces creating despair. But concerning the problems of death and the sense of immortality, the essential message of *Ikiru* is not different from that of *The Death of Ivan Ilych*.

From the foregoing we can begin to recognize the wider meaning of the concept of the survivor. All of us who continue to live while people anywhere die are survivors, and both the word and the condition suggest a relationship that we all have to the dead. Therefore, the Hiroshima survivors' focus upon the dead as arbiters of good and evil, and invisible assigners of guilt and shame, is by no means as unique as it at first glance appears to be. For we all enter into similar commitments to the dead, whether consciously or unconsciously, whether to specific people who lived in the past or to the anonymous dead; or whether these commitments relate to theological or quasi-theological ideas about ties to the dead in another form of existence, or to more or less scientific ideas about a heritage we wish to affirm or a model we wish to follow. In any quest for perfection there is probably a significant identification with the imagined perfection of the dead hero or heroes who lived in the golden age of the past. Most of our history has been made by those now dead, and we cannot avoid calling upon them, at least in various symbolic ways, for standards that give meaning to our lives.

3. And a last proposition: death, in the very abruptness of its capacity to terminate life, becomes a test of life's sense of movement, of development and change—of sequence—in the continuous dialectic between fixed identity on the one hand and individuation on the other. To the extent that death is anticipated as absolute termination of life's movement, it calls into question the degree to which one's life contains, or has contained, any such development. Further, I would hold that a sense of movement in the various involvements of life is as fundamental a human need, as basic to the innate psychic imagery, as is the countervailing urge toward stillness, constancy, and reduction of tension which Freud (after Barbara Low) called the "Nirvana principle." Freud referred to the Nirvana principle as "the dominating tendency of mental life" and related it to the "death instinct"; but I would prefer to speak instead of polarizing psychic tendencies toward continuous movement and ultimate stillness, both equally central to psychic function. Given the preoccupation with and ambivalence toward death since mankind's beginnings, Freud's concept of the death instinct may be a much more

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powerful one than his critics will allow. At the same time it may yield greater understanding through being related to contemporary thought on symbolic process and innate imagery, rather than to older, more mechanistic views on the nature of instinct.

To express this human necessity for a sense of movement, I find it often useful to speak of "self-process" rather than simply of "self." I believe that the perpetual quest for a sense of movement has much to do with the appeal of comprehensive ideologies, particularly political and social ones, since these ideologies contain organized imagery of wider historical movement, and of individual participation in constant social flux. Yet ideologies, especially when totalist in character, also hold out an ultimate vision of utopian perfection in which all movement ceases, because one is, so to speak, *there*. This strong embodiment of both ends of the psychic polarity—of continuous movement as well as perfect stillness—may well be a fundamental source of ideological appeal. For in this polarity, ideologies represent a means of transcending linear time, and, at least symbolically, of transcending death itself. In the promise of an interminable relationship to the "Movement," one can enter into both a biosocial mode of immortality and a very special version of immortality through man's works, in this case relating to man's symbolic conquest of time. Nor is it accidental that ideologies appear and gather momentum during periods of cultural breakdown and historical dislocation, at which time there tends to be a sense of cessation of movement and of prominent death symbolism. Central to the revitalizing mission of ideologies is their acting out, in historical (and psychological) context, the classical mythological theme of death and rebirth.

In response to a threat of death, actual or symbolic, the psychic response is likely to be either that of stillness and cessation of movement, or else of frenetic, compensatory activity. The former was by far the most prominent in the Hiroshima situation, although the latter was not entirely absent. The psychic closing-off that took place right after the bomb fell was a cessation of psychic motion, or what might be thought of as a temporary form of symbolically "dying" to defend against the threat of more lasting psychological "death" (psychosis) posed by overwhelming evidence of actual physical death. The same may be said of the later self-imposed restraint in association with the identity of the dead, an identity whose very stillness becomes a means of carrying on with life in the face of one's commitment to death and the dead. But there were occasional cases of heightened activity, usually unfocused and confused, even at the time of the bomb. And later energies in rebuilding the city—the "frontier atmosphere" that predominated during much of the postwar period—may be seen as a somewhat delayed intensification of movement, although it must be added that much of this energy and movement came from the outside.

Can we say something more about these propositions concerning death, and about the various modes of immortality, as they apply to the nuclear age? I believe that from these perspectives we can see new psychological threats posed by nuclear weapons—right now, to all of us among the living.

Concerning the first proposition, that death is a test of our sense of connection, if we anticipate the possibility of nuclear weapons being used (as I believe we all do in some measure), we are faced with a prospect of being severed from virtually all of our symbolic paths to immortality. In the postnuclear world, we can imagine no biological or biosocial posterity; there is little or nothing surviving of our works or influences; and theological symbolism of an afterlife may well be insufficiently strong in its hold on the imagination to still fears of total severance. In my Hiroshima work I was struck by the inability of people to find adequate transcendent religious explanation—Buddhist, Shinto, or Christian—for what they and others had experienced. This was partly because of the relatively

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weak state of such theological symbolism in contemporary Japan, but perhaps most fundamentally because of the magnitude of the disaster itself. Whatever the mixed state of religious symbolism in the rest of the world, there is grave doubt whether the promise of some form of life after death can maintain symbolic power in an imagined world in which there are none (or virtually none) among the biologically living. This leaves only the mode of immortality symbolized by nature, which I found to be perhaps the most viable of all among Hiroshima survivors—as expressed in the Japanese (originally Chinese) proverb quoted to me by several of them: "The state may collapse but the mountains and rivers remain." And with all the other modes of immortality so threatened, we may raise the speculative possibility that, independent of any use of nuclear weapons, one outcome of the nuclear age might be the development of some form of natural theology (or at least of a theology in which nature is prominent) as a means of perpetuating man's innate need for a sense of immortality.

Concerning the second proposition, relating to the meaning and integrity of life, we find ourselves even more directly threatened by nuclear weapons. As many have already pointed out, nuclear weapons confront us with a kind of death that can have no meaning. There is no such thing as dying heroically, for a great cause, in the service of a belief or a nation, in other words for a palpable purpose—but rather only the prospect of dying anonymously, emptily, without gain to others. Such feelings were prominent among Hiroshima survivors both at the time of their initial immersion in death and during the months and years following it. They could not view their experience as purposeful, in the sense of teaching the world the necessity for abandoning nuclear weapons, but rather saw themselves as scapegoats for the world's evil, "guinea pigs" in a historical "experiment," or else as victims of war made infinitely more inhuman by the new weapon used. Part of their problem was the difficulty they had in knowing whom or what to hate, since, as one of my colleagues put it, "You can't hate magic." They did find in postwar Japanese pacifism an opportunity for organized rechanneling of resentment into a hatred of war itself; this was of considerable importance, but has by no means resolved the issue. The only consistent "meaning" survivors could find in all of the death and destruction around them was in the application of an everyday expression of East Asian fatalism—*"shikataganai"* ("it can't be helped")—which is a surface reflection of a profoundly important psychological tendency toward accepting whatever destiny one is given. But however great the psychological usefulness of this attitude, we can hardly say that it enabled survivors to achieve full mastery of their experience. Hiroshima survivors were the very antithesis of the "predilection patients" we spoke of before: rather than being ready for death, they found its intrusion upon life to be unacceptable, even absurd; and when seeming to embrace death, they were really clinging to life.

Considering the destructive power of present nuclear weapons and granting the impossibility of a meaningful nuclear death, is not life itself deprived of much of its meaning? Does not nuclear death threaten the deep significance of all of our lives? Indeed the attraction some feel toward the use of nuclear weapons might be partly a function of this meaninglessness, so that in a paradoxical way they want to "end it all" (perhaps realize their own end-of-the-world fantasies), to deny the very emptiness of the nuclear death toward which they press. Here the principle of individual suicide as an attempt to deny the reality of death is carried further to encompass nuclear suicide-murder as an attempt to deny the threat to meaningful human existence posed by these weapons.

And finally, in relationship to the proposition of death as a test of life's sense of movement, I think the matter is more ambiguous, although hardly encouraging. There is a sense in all of us, in greater or lesser degree, that nuclear weapons might terminate all of life's movement. Yet

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there is also, at least in some, a strange intensity and excitement in relationship to the confrontation with danger which nuclear weapons provide; and this, it might be claimed, contributes to a sense of movement in present-day life. But this exhilaration—or perhaps pseudo exhilaration—is less a direct function of the nuclear weapons themselves than of the universal historical dislocation accompanying a wider technological revolution. In other words, there is in our world an extraordinary combination of potential for continuously enriching movement and development of self-process, side by side with the potential for sudden and absolute termination. This latter possibility, which I have called the *potentially terminal revolution,* has not yet been seriously evaluated in its full psychological consequences; and whatever its apparent stimulus to a sense of movement, we may well suspect that it also contributes to a profound listlessness and inertia that lurks beneath.

I am aware that I have painted something less than an optimistic picture, both concerning the Hiroshima disaster and our present relationship to the nuclear world. Indeed it would seem that we are caught in a vicious psychological and historical circle, in which the existence of nuclear weapons impairs our relationship to death and immortality, and this impairment to our symbolic processes in turn interferes with our ability to deal with these same nuclear weapons. But one way of breaking out of such a pattern is by gaining at least a dim understanding of our own involvement in it. And in studying the Hiroshima experience and other extreme situations, I have found that man's capacity for elaborating and enclosing himself in this kind of ring of destructiveness is matched only by his equal capacity for renewal. Surely the mythological theme of death and rebirth takes on particular pertinence for us now, and every constructive effort we can make to grasp something more of our relationship to death becomes, in its own way, a small stimulus to rebirth.

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A REPORT

On the Humanities

IRVING DILLIARD

Where there is no vision, the people perish.
—Proverbs, XXIX, 18

It is not a matter of chance that the basic warning of the humanists to all mankind comes down from early Old Testament times. Solomon (circa 960-922 B.C.) and the other authors of the Hebrews' "wisdom literature" were themselves pioneer humanists. As distinguished from the producers of legalistic and prophetic Judaic writings, the third king of Israel and his literary colleagues were concerned with human experience and fulfillment. What they set down were maxims to follow from life itself. The youth of Israel needed signposts in sorting out the complexities of their troubled day and so the "men of Hezekiah" compiled the admonitory "proverbs of Solomon." Still a major portion of the wisdom of the ages, these survive as the Biblical Book of Proverbs, twenty-fifth chapter through the twenty-ninth. Verse eighteen of Chapter XXIX states the humanistic conviction in words blunt and unqualified: Where there is no vision, the people perish.

Neither was it an accident that Solomon was a humanist. His father, David, combined in one man of state humanistic interests to a rare degree. For King David was, as every Sunday school boy knows, musician, poet, philosopher, historian, critic and religious scholar. In the totality of his career, the humanistic aspects of David's life take precedence over his achievements as warrior, sovereign and administrator. The David of the Psalms left more legacy than did the slayer of Goliath.

Nearly three thousand years later, Alfred North Whitehead, looking up from a mathematical problem on his study table, expanded but slightly on the declaration of Solomon. Said the British-American philosopher: "In the conditions of modern life the rule is absolute—the race which does not value trained intelligence is doomed."

Less than a year and a half ago President John F. Kennedy raised his eyes to a day he himself would not live to see, yet could readily envision. Speaking at the dedication of the Robert Frost Library at Amherst College, on October 26, 1963—less than a month before the Dallas tragedy—he put the injunctions of Solomon and Whitehead positively and hopefully. The humanist in the White House paid a nation's tribute to a life of poetry and letters. Then he said:

> I look forward to an America which will reward achievement in the arts as we reward achievement in business or statecraft. I look forward to an America which will steadily raise the standards of artistic accomplishment and which will steadily enlarge cultural opportunities for all of our citizens. I look forward to an America which commands respect throughout the world not only for its strength but for its civilization as well. And I look forward to a world which will be safe not only for democracy and diversity but also for personal distinction.

Still more recently President Lyndon B. Johnson has called on the nearly two hun-

✪ IRVING DILLIARD recently edited the collection of Justice Hugo Black's Supreme Court opinions entitled *One Man's Stand for Freedom*. Formerly editorial page editor of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, Mr. Dilliard is a trustee of the University of Illinois, a Phi Beta Kappa Senator, and Ferris Professor of Journalism and Public Relations at Princeton University.

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William Faulkner:
Art in Theological Tension

John W. Hunt

This challenging book examines Faulkner's major works—three in detail—to explore and define the theological direction taken by the American writer.

Hunt finds that Stoic and Christian moral assessments, with Faulkner from the beginning, have formed the poles of a theological tension, and he demonstrates how, in fulfilling the demands of his art, Faulkner has given precision and coherence to a complex theological vision. This is a compelling and lucid book. $5.00

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Child Labor Reform in New York State

Jeremy P. Felt

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Donald G. Bishop

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The material in this study is based in large part on Department of State records in the National Archives, and on the Roosevelt papers at Hyde Park. $7.50

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dred million people of the United States to join hands in bringing about "the Great Society" that would embrace the cultural things of mind and spirit no less than material advance and achievement.

Fine, brave words. Is there anything to them?

Whatever the answer would have been earlier, at the midpoint of the century's seventh decade it is a heartening, cheering, promising Yes.

For the first time since the initial Congress met in 1789, a proposal to make the advancement of the humanities in the United States a recognized responsibility of all the people, through their Federal Government, has been placed before our national lawmakers. Washington's Capitol Hill actually has received, in the form of a voluntarily sponsored and duly drawn bill, prospective legislation to establish a National Humanities Foundation. Since the beneficial consequences could be incalculable, the story of how this came about is worth knowing in substantial detail.

The disadvantage of the humanities in the United States has been a matter of broadening concern, at least since the creation of the National Science Foundation by an act of Congress and the approval of President Harry S. Truman in 1950. The wisdom of providing Federal assistance for advancement of science in the United States, if in question before 1950, was fully proved when the physicists and space engineers of the Soviet Union stole a march on the world by launching Sputnik I. For by that time, American science was coming out of the doldrums and the task of catching up, thanks to the National Science Foundation, was well begun. In all this, one date is a landmark. That is April, 1951, when Alan T. Waterman was selected as the first director of the National Science Foundation. Beginning then, science in this country entered upon an era of advances unparalleled on many fronts. Meanwhile, humanistic studies have had, notwithstanding the demands on them, relatively at least an increasingly hard time of it.

This newly emphasized and, indeed, reinforced disparity led Robert M. Lumiansky, professor of English at Duke University and formerly at Tulane University, to propose in 1962 a national study of the conditions surrounding the humanities to determine what should and could be done. In the mind of this literary scholar was the example of the National Science Foundation with the impetus and prestige of Federal backing. Doubtless others had similar thoughts.

The idea was promptly taken up by three national organizations that have a common stake in how the humanities are supported and how they fare in the fulfillment of their mission. These organizations are the American Council of Learned Societies, the Council of Graduate Schools in the United States and the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa. After individual endorsement of the general idea, the three joined enthusiastically in cosponsoring the National Commission on the Humanities whose report has become the basis of the proposed Federal legislation.

Only a distinguished commission would be worthy of a task so important to intellectual development in the United States, and it was a distinguished panel of twenty citizens who went to work on it early in 1963. The chairman and vice-chairman came respectively from private and public higher education: Barnaby C. Keeney, president of Brown University, and Herman B. Wells, chancellor of Indiana University. The high administrative echelons of university education were also represented by the presidents of Yale University, the University of California and the University of Notre Dame. Still others from university administrations with a close connection with the humanities were the directors of the Harvard University Library, the Yale University Art Gallery and the School of Graduate Studies at the City College of New York. The active scholars and teachers of humanistic studies on the Commission came from the fields of history, philosophy, classics, literature and languages, and, institutionally, from Princeton, Yale, Brown, Duke and Michigan. But the sights ranged more broadly than collegiate and graduate

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education. The viewpoints included those of the president of a small college, Gustavus Adolphus, the president of the Social Science Research Council and the head of the Scarsdale, New York, public school system. The four public members sat from law, insurance, industry and science.

Asked by the sponsoring organizations "to consider the state of the humanities in America and to report its findings and recommendations," this outstanding group met frequently during the year 1963. Its completed report was delivered April 30, 1964. Recalling the sessions, Chairman Keeney told the triennial council of Phi Beta Kappa, meeting at the University of Vermont, "We very quickly agreed upon the principal recommendations and thus had ample time to discuss the illiteracy and folly of the several successive members who attempted to draft the report."

The Commission defined the humanities "as the study of languages, literature, history, and philosophy; the history, criticism, and theory of art and music; and the history and comparison of religion and law." It also placed the creative and performing arts within the scope of the Foundation on the ground that they "are the very substance of the humanities and embrace a major part of the imaginative and creative activities of mankind."

The Commission's primary recommendation was that a national foundation, "supported largely but not entirely by federal appropriations," be established to promote the development of the humanities, "but by no means to control them." The Commission, to quote Chairman Keeney again, also proposed that the Foundation "be authorized to support humane activities throughout the whole of our national life —in the schools, in the colleges and universities, in the libraries, museums, art galleries, and in the theater and the concert hall." Thus the Commission "did not envisage the Foundation as entirely or even primarily an academic enterprise, but rather one which would attempt to touch every facet of American life." It recommended also that the Foundation "be empowered to help institutions and organizations develop their programs and to help individuals develop their scholarly and creative competence, and to provide facilities where each might take place."

The proper place of the humanities in modern life was described with eloquence and feeling in the first two paragraphs of the Commission's report. These words deserve the widest possible circulation and it is with this in mind that they are quoted here:

> The humanities are the study of that which is most human. Throughout man's conscious past they have played an essential role in forming, preserving, and transforming the social, moral, and aesthetic values of every man in every age. One cannot speak of history or culture apart from the humanities. They not only record our lives; our lives are the very substance they are made of. Their subject is every man. We propose, therefore, a program for all our people, a program to meet a need no less serious than that for national defense. We speak, in truth, for what is being defended—our beliefs, our ideals, our highest achievements.
>
> The humanities may be regarded as a body of knowledge and insight, as modes of expression, as a program for education, as an underlying attitude toward life. The body of knowledge is usually taken to include the study of history, literature, the arts, religion, and philosophy. The fine and the performing arts are modes of expressing thoughts and feelings visually, verbally and aurally. The method of education is one based on the liberal tradition we inherit from classical antiquity. The attitude toward life centers on concern for the human individual: for his emotional development, for his moral, religious, and aesthetic ideas, and for his goals—including in particular his growth as a rational being and a responsible member of his community.

Far from shutting the humanities away from science, the Commission declared that science, "as a technique and expression of intellect, is in fact closely affiliated with the humanities." The Commission took pains to support "warmly" the statement relating science to other intellectual activity in the report of the President's Science Advisory Committee of November 15, 1960. To make this crystal clear the Commission quoted these significant words from that report:

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While this report centers on the needs of science, we repudiate emphatically any notion that science research and scientific education are the only kinds of learning that matter to America. The responsibility of this Committee is limited to scientific matters, but obviously a high civilization must not limit its efforts to science alone. Even in the interests of science itself it is essential to give full value and support to the other great branches of man's artistic, literary, and scholarly activity. The advancement of science must not be accomplished by the impoverishment of anything else, and the life of the mind in our society has needs which are not limited by the particular concerns which belong to this Committee and this report.

The Commission on the Humanities described science as far more than a tool for adding to our security and comfort. Chairman Keeney and his colleagues found that science embraces in its broadest sense all efforts to achieve valid and coherent views of reality; and that it therefore extends the boundaries of experience and adds new dimensions to human character. As for the interdependence of science and the humanities, the Commission observed that if this were more generally understood, "men would be more likely to become masters of their technology and not its unthinking servants."

But whether poet or physicist, even the most gifted individual will not "realize his full potential or make his fullest contribution to his times unless his imagination has been kindled by the aspirations and accomplishments of those who have gone before him." It is this, the fact that the past is their natural domain, that has rested on humanistic scholars the "privilege and obligation" of interpreting the past to each new generation of men who "necessarily must live in one small corner for one little stretch of time."

So it is that men must, as a consequence, look most directly to the arts and letters, and their study of them, for "enrichment of the individual's experience and his capacity for responding to it." And so also that "through the humanities we may seek intellectual humility, sensitivity to beauty, and emotional discipline"; that "by them we may come to know the excitement of ideas, the power of imagination, and the unsuspected energies of the creative spirit."

Looking back with the wide range of the historian's eye, the Commission saw that over the centuries it has been the humanities that have sustained mankind at "the deepest level of being." In Greece and Rome, in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, humanistic studies and the arts found generous favor: "Architecture, sculpture, poetry, and music flourished, and with the growth of colleges and universities the liberal arts took shape as a body of cumulative knowledge and wisdom."

Our debt in the United States to the humanities is a great one indeed. For, as the Commission pointed out, in the formative years of our own country, "it was a group of statesmen steeped in the humanities who fused their own experience with that of the past to create the enduring Constitution of the Republic."

But, however much the Founders drew on arts and letters in the late 1700's, our need for the humanities is infinitely greater now. Long before the Commission was ever proposed, many serious Americans had reflected on social and cultural trends and their probable long-term effects in the United States. The Commission reviewed these mounting concerns and added its own anxieties. Then it listed five major reasons why America stands in need of the humanities. These may be summarized as follows:

1. All men require an ideal toward which they may strive and Americans need such a vision today as never before. It is both the dignity and the duty of humanists to offer their fellow countrymen whatever understanding can be attained by fallible humanity of such enduring values as justice, freedom, virtue, beauty and truth.

2. Democracy demands wisdom of the average man. Without the exercise of wisdom, free institutions and personal liberty are imperiled. To know the best that had been thought and said in former times can make us wiser than we otherwise might be, and in this respect the humanities are not merely ours, but the world's, best hope.

3. The United States is not a nation of

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materialists, but many men believe it to be. They find it hard to fathom the motives of a country that will spend billions on its outward defense and at the same time do little to maintain the creative and imaginative abilities of its own people. The arts have an unparalleled capability for crossing the national barriers imposed by language and contrasting customs. It is by way of the humanities that we best come to understand cultures other than our own, and they best to understand ours.

4. World leadership of the kind that has come upon the United States cannot rest solely upon superior force, vast wealth, or preponderant technology. Only the elevation of its goals and the excellence of its conduct entitle one nation to ask others to follow its lead. These are things of the spirit. If we appear to discourage creativity, to demean the fanciful and the beautiful, to have no concern for man's ultimate destiny—if, in short, we ignore the humanities —then our goals and our efforts to attain them will be measured with suspicion.

5. A new and serious challenge is posed by the remarkable increase in leisure time. The forty-hour week and the likelihood of a shorter one, the greater life-expectancy and the earlier ages of retirement, have combined to make the blessing of leisure a source of personal and community concern. When men and women find nothing within themselves but emptiness, they turn to trivial and narcotic amusements, and the society of which they are a part becomes socially delinquent and potentially unstable. The humanities are the immemorial answer to man's questioning and to his need for self-expression. They are uniquely equipped to fill the "abyss of leisure."

This being the situation and these being the needs, the question became: What to do about them? Starting with the axiom of intellectual life that scholarship and art are and must remain free, the Commission agreed that while a "government which gives no support at all to humane values is careless of its own destiny," it is also true that a "government which gives too much support—and seeks to acquire influence—may be more dangerous still."

Accordingly the Commission sought a solution that would "unquestionably increase the prestige of the humanities and the flow of funds to them," but at the same time would "safeguard the independence, the originality, and the freedom of expression of all who are concerned with liberal learning."

Hence, the proposal for an independent foundation with a director and board members "of acknowledged competence and courage, as are the director and members of the National Science Board." Hence, the proposal that the Humanities Foundation, like the Smithsonian Institution, "should not operate exclusively on Government appropriations, but should accept grants from the widest range of sources—foundations, corporations, individuals."

How much danger does Federal support hold for the humanities? The answer of Chairman Keeney and his associates is in effect: some but not enough to stand in the way of establishment of a National Humanities Foundation by Congress and the President. Speaking to some three hundred Phi Beta Kappa delegates from over the country, the head of Brown University said:

> I myself feel that if the Federal Government in this country ever takes control of the humanities, the arts, and the social studies—or the sciences themselves—it will not be primarily because the Government has spent money on them; it will be because the people of the United States tell their representatives that they wish such control to be exercised. If the people make such a decision, there will be control whether funds are expended or not. I do not believe that they will wish to reach such a decision.

But why not expand the National Science Foundation to include the humanities rather than set up a new foundation? Here again the Commission found good reasons for its choice. In essence its case is threefold: because it would not be fair to distract the National Science Foundation; because there is so much catching up to do, and because the work of the proposed new foundation is so broad and so important to American life.

Here then is the heart of it all, for we

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may well go beyond the generality and ask: "Just how broad and how important?" And the answer is not long in coming to us: "So broad and so important as to be nothing less than life itself." For the essential purpose of the humanities is to teach, and that means to enable people to learn about the effective conduct of life. Yet there are informed observers, not to say practitioners of the humanities, who would say that humanistic studies have been largely lacking in challenging and imaginative treatment for too many years. Unquestionably the humanities can only benefit, and hence American life gain, from airy ventilation by fresh, new winds of thought and imagination.

No one can be sure just what will come out of the humanistic fields once they have achieved the projected status. Indeed, it is in the nature of the humanities that they will not be confined and that they, therefore, cannot be forecast. To put it another way, inevitably any attempted forecasts will be amended, modified, altered, enlarged, extended by the students, scholars and artists whose efforts receive the encouragement and support of the prospective National Humanities Foundation. Much, too, certainly at the outset, and hopefully thereafter, will depend on the vision of the twenty-four men and women who are to be called to be the members of the Foundation board. A great deal will depend also on the imagination and grasp of the director and the staff he will need to assemble to study and weigh the applications for grants and fellowships, and to plan a program of projects in the humanities.

While it is no substitute for the living, vibrant course of action that will take form in the future, readers may turn temporarily to the Report of the Commission which can be had on request from the American Council of Learned Societies, 345 East Forty-sixth Street, New York City, 10017. The Commission's fifteen-page statement is notably supported by one hundred and fifty pages of appendices from committees of the constituent organizations of the American Council of Learned Societies. Thus one group at a time, the anthropologists, archaeologists, architectural historians, geographers, legal educators, linguists, musicologists, philosophers, philologists, political scientists, historians, sociologists, students of folklore and dialects, and still others, reported on the state of the humanities in terms of their own fields. Thoughtful recommendations also came from the schools below college and university level and from the librarians.

The librarians more than any other cultural professional group face both the necessities of the humanities and the requirements of new mechanized techniques. The supplementary statement of a committee of librarians, including representatives from Princeton, Cornell, Harvard, Chicago and the University of California at Los Angeles, called attention to the need for the employment of mechanized methods in handling great masses of bibliographical information by means of computing machines:

> Many of their potentialities may first be exploited in the service of scientific bibliography, but it must be hoped that eventually they can manage the flood of information on which humanistic scholarship depends. Research and development funds are needed for investigation of what can be done and how much it will cost. Some library records, such as circulation files and serial receipts, have already been automated with excellent results, and a comprehensive study of possibilities of mechanization at the Library of Congress is now being reviewed. The value to the humanities of really effective bibliographical control would be so great that further efforts along these lines would be justified even if the prospects were much less promising than they are. . . . library collections cover all subjects, but it is the humanities that ask the most of them, and it is the humanities that have the most to gain from strong and responsive libraries.

Similarly pointed statements of relationship issued from other groups of scholars and academic workers and investigators. After the Commission transmitted its Report to the three sponsoring bodies, word of its contents and major recommendations began to move slowly and quietly through the humanistic disciplines. Advocates asked themselves what would be the best way to get the plan before Congress. Then came a big surprise. A member of the national

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House of Representatives, on his own initiative, took up the Commission's Report, studied it carefully and, on August 17, introduced H.R. Bill 12406 which embodied its main recommendations.

The volunteer sponsor was Representative William S. Moorhead, forty-two-year-old Democrat of Pennsylvania whose district is within the city of Pittsburgh. A graduate of Yale University in 1944, Representative Moorhead received his law degree at Harvard University in 1949. Among his civic positions has been that of member of the Pittsburgh City Art Commission. He was first elected to Congress in 1958. His interest in the plight of the humanities was asserted with understanding and enthusiasm in his statement of reasons for introducing a National Humanities Foundation bill without being asked to do so. The bill was referred to the House Committee on Education and Labor of which Representative Adam Clayton Powell of New York is chairman.

Congress adjourned without action on the Moorhead bill, but the fact of its introduction was not without benefits. The bill broadening the National Defense Education Act, which was sent to President Johnson in the final week of the session, extended the Federal Government's concern beyond science to include history, English, reading, geography and civics. Moreover the idea of a National Humanities Foundation has now been presented twice to Congress. When an improved bill was reintroduced in the first session of the Eighty-ninth Congress, in January, 1965, the proposal already had a Congressional history of some six months' time. On January 6 Senator Ernest Gruening of Alaska, on behalf of himself and twenty-nine other Senators, introduced his bill (S. 111), which is similar to the Moorhead Bill (H.R. 334). On the following day Senator Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island introduced a bill (S. 316) which is a considerably expanded version of the Moorhead Bill. Both bills are before the Senate now.

But the most significant endorsement of the Commission's handiwork came from the White House itself. When President Johnson spoke at the two-hundredth anniversary convocation of Brown University last September, he gave new heart to humanists by saying:

> And there simply must be no neglect of the humanities. The values of our free and compassionate society are as vital to our national success as the skills of our technical and scientific age. I look with the greatest of favor upon the proposal by your own able President Keeney's Commission for a National Foundation for the Humanities.

Then in his State of the Union message, January 4, delivered to a listening people as much as to Congress at an evening joint session, President Johnson said with point and emphasis: "We must . . . recognize and encourage those who can be pathfinders for the nation's imagination and understanding. To help promote and honor creative achievements, I will propose a National Foundation on the Arts."

As we review what has developed so recently, it is not at all too much to say that the humanities are coming into a new day in the United States. Three thousand years after Solomon we are facing up to the reality of those hard, unequivocal words from the Book of Proverbs. We are coming to realize that, as Arnold Toynbee has said, "Man is astonishingly good at dealing with the physical world, but he is just as astonishingly bad at dealing with human nature; therefore, an inch gained in the understanding of and command over human nature is worth a mile in the understanding of and command over physical nature." We are accepting the rightness of Helen C. White's words in the September, 1964, *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors:* "In the modern university the old jurisdictional disputes have no place. The creative imagination is found in physics or education as in painting or criticism."

In sum then, when we advance the humanities we advance man himself. For the state of the humanities, high, mediocre or low, is the state of man—what he has been, what he is now, what in prospect he will be, what he holds dear, what he believes, what he seeks and what he achieves of enduring worth.

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Bellow in Occupancy

HERZOG. *By Saul Bellow. Viking. $5.75.*

Reviewed by EARL ROVIT

Perhaps the most striking thing about Saul Bellow's *Herzog* is its most unfashionable seriousness. Without using any of the easy rhetorics of exhibitionism to advertise the seriousness of his achievement, Bellow successfully persuades his reader that reading *Herzog* is an act of moral consequence. The reader is gently drawn into what turns out to be a most ungentle and painful debate. Positions are incisively defined, deserted, shifted, exploded, and then bewilderingly realigned, and the reader is forced to scuttle crabwise in order to keep himself upright. Not since the politically oriented thirties, I should think, has an American novel been able to sustain itself as a medium of social discourse or, better, a forum for sane argumentation and inquiry. We are now, however, thirty years removed from the dour intellectuality of the thirties; metaphysics has replaced economics as the subject of meaningful discussion, and perhaps *Herzog* may provide a crystallization of our contemporary confusions as Dos Passos' *U.S.A.* did in its day. And it may even be a sign of cultural maturity or desperation (or both) that gives the traditional novel of ideas this belated and amazingly popular appearance on the American scene.

For this, it seems to me, is what is new and exciting about *Herzog*. It is the production of a marvelously rich and more marvelously sane intelligence acting upon and reacting to the imponderabilities of normal human existence in the vivid darknesses of the mid-twentieth century. And this, unsymbolically! We have become unaccustomed to ideas naked—ideas freed from their always ambiguous, always symbolic containers. *Herzog* presents us with the frenetic play of ideas in their most natural habitat—a conscious, responsible human mind. And this old-fashioned rendering of the debater's platform is unsettling to us. It is not the dark and bloody ground of great mythic plantations, not the fluke-thrashed Pacific waters that engulf the soul. Neither gin nor jazz, neither drugs nor the orgasmic piece that passeth all understanding provides the rhythms for the debate. Bellow chooses as novelistic frame the square angularity of vision that the gross majority of literate Americans project upon the world. He invokes the absolutely square, bourgeois, middle-class ethic in his efforts *"to justify"*—to justify un-God's merciless ways to man-unkind, and this without disavowing the true prophecies of doom that make that ethic meretricious and logically indefensible. What is radical about *Herzog* is that it is a novel of ideas in which the ideas are unashamedly and merely ideas in a human mind. The world goes on; characters act or fail to act; the incessant flow of ideas changes nothing, averts nothing, saves no one.

And of course, *Herzog* is a comic novel. I should suppose that any modern effort to justify God's ways to man must be inherently comic. Justice, after all, is man's creation and the destruction of mankind is God's, and any attempt to harmonize the two must lead to that glottal stop that is usually death, but can sometimes be laughter. In Bellow's novel, the man of ideas, Moses E. Herzog, acts, suffers, fails and partially succeeds as a human agent without displaying any evidence that there is a causal connection between his thinking and his acting. The world of his ideas is a separate one. He entertains himself with it. He uses it to celebrate his soul, to upbraid himself, to pity his ignominies. But it is always

EARL ROVIT teaches English at Wesleyan University. His books include *Herald to Chaos: The Novels of Elizabeth Madox Roberts,* and *Ernest Hemingway.*

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a world separate and discrete from him and this is a fact that he and the reader learn to regard as comic because any other reaction would be intolerable. Sprawled out in his hammock in the Berkshires like a caricature of a Transcendentalist, Herzog takes stock of the broken shards and disappointed hopes of his life. He has been twice divorced, he has failed in his friendships, fallen far short of his scholarly ambitions. He has found no sureties in sex, love, religion, philosophy, history, or human relationships. His mind —rich, exotic and delightfully erratic—recapitulates, reorganizes, resuffers the burden of his memories. Writing fragmented mental letters to the quick and the dead, reenacting the salient scenes of his past, haranguing Nietzsche, Heidegger, General Eisenhower, Herzog finally subsides into mental silence. His mind offers no more ideas. No more words. He tells himself that he has accepted the dull brutal fact of his existence, but neither he nor we are able to know whether it is affirmation or sheer exhaustion that puts an end to his cerebration. And this, I take it, is comedy: a 341-page remembrance of things past in which the memories fail to cohere or explain—in which the movement of the main character is an illusory introspective spiral that comes out nowhere.

But *Herzog* is comic in other ways as well. "If I am out of my mind, it's all right with me, thought Moses Herzog." These are the opening words of the novel—a novel that takes place, after all, *in the mind* of Moses Herzog. Sometimes Herzog *is* out of his mind, sometimes not. But he is always aware of himself on two levels of awareness. That is, he is aware of himself as a man in the Berkshires engaged in a self-indulgent scrutiny of those past selves that his memory serves up to him. And, second, those recollected selves are themselves self-conscious; they too were self-aware in their moments of vital being. The possibilities for the ironic and futile play of identities within such a narrative focus are well-nigh inexhaustible. For, whether Herzog is in or out of his mind, the reader is usually kept within it, and this allows Bellow to manipulate the distances between his reader and his main character on the principle of a very complicated, double-motioned elevator mechanism. Sometimes we are allowed to look directly at Herzog, but more frequently the barrier of his personality is dissolved and we have to become Herzog looking at himself (or looking at himself looking at himself). And thus, although there are usually two layers of irony separating Bellow from Herzog when the focuses are working well, the reader is not always so shielded. And this, it seems to me, is what makes the reading of the novel so intimately painful and intensely comic at times. The same device of multiple perspective that separates Bellow from Herzog forces the reader into an overintimate identification. To be sure, the distances are not always successfully controlled. But when they are, *Herzog* becomes an almost terrifyingly impersonal book and the reader is caught in the most personal of engagements with it. The frustrated congestion of ideas becomes the personal property and obligation of the reader alone, and Bellow disappears from his own artifice. And this, too, is comedy—surreptitious, sadistic, even pedagogical in its demands.

But the modern comedy of identity has other uses as well, and Bellow's composition is an enormously artful one. We have already remarked the comic lack of movement in the main character's long progression from nowhere to nowhere. There is, however, something else that needs to be said. The device of multiple perspective tends to cancel out the actual lack of movement since awareness of self-awareness creates a dynamic psychic motion in itself, and it is this rhythm that dominates the structure of the novel. When all is working well, the multiple perspectives engender an incredible circumambience of ironic directions; when the distances collapse, Bellow runs the danger of maudlin self-pity and sentimentality. In general, however, he is much more successful than unsuccessful in sustaining his balances in *Herzog;* and in this he is greatly aided by his happy conception of protagonist, that hammock-sprawling oxymoron, Moses E. Herzog. For he is, ultimately, a comic compendium of

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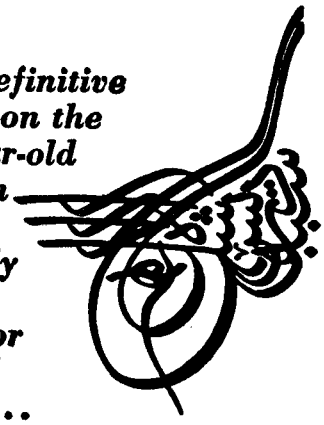

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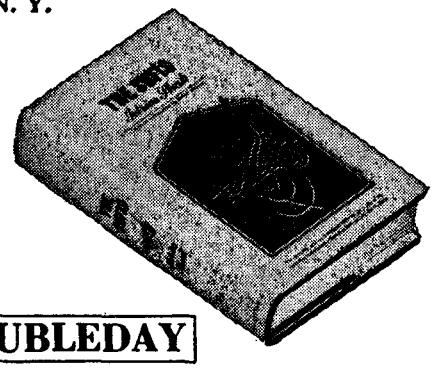

DOUBLEDAY

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paradoxes: rational student of irrationality, skeptical believer, calculating, middle-aged innocent, self-effacing egotist, erotic intellectual, Montreal-born, Russian-Jewish American. He learns nothing, does nothing, slays no dragons, burns no bridges; and yet he is still in a supremely comic way, not only the hero of his novel, but an heroic character—a perfectly possible and viable figure of modern heroism.

"The hero is he who is immovably centered," wrote Ralph Waldo Emerson, a poet-thinker whom both Herzog and Bellow seem to respect. In spite of (or because of) the fact that he is constantly shifting his senses of self-awareness, Moses Herzog is an immovably centered man. In a way that Emerson may just have been guileful enough to have been suggesting, the centrality of self has changed from a reliance on some irreducible atomic entity like soul or spirit or immutable consciousness to a creative network of protean self-relationships. In this sense Herzog is a dazzling acrobat of consciousness, a prestidigitator of his constantly burgeoning selves, vulnerable or discoverable in no single one of them, immovably centered in their dynamic totality. The Wandering Jew—uprooted, displaced, always as detached and alien as consciousness itself—receives a comic apotheosis. It is he, the homeless one, who is able to establish a fruitful liaison with the world. In Herzogian terms, the Mosaic law has been amended to read, "Be it ever so humiliating, there's no place like home." And, perversely, on this level, the discrete world of ideas *does* become causally connected with man's actions. *To think*—even though it is possible only to think about oneself—becomes synonymous with *to act.* And the greatest actor, the largest hero of our time, would be the man who thinks most about his many selves in the most fluidly creative way. Thus, when Moses Herzog asks himself at the end of the novel what it is that he wants, his answer is both comic and momentously brave. "Not a solitary thing. I am pretty well satisfied to be, to be just as it is willed, and for as long as I may remain in occupancy." And at this point the reader should be aware that Herzog's lease of occupancy will extend to the temporal and psychic limits of his capacity for self-consciousness.

It would be possible to denigrate Bellow's remarkable accomplishment in this novel by overstressing the importance of some of its undeniable weaknesses. To do so would be petty, but not to point to them at all would be a critical disservice. Some of these weaknesses are probably inevitable in light of the immense strain that the restricted mode of composition must have imposed. I have already suggested that the ironic perspectives do not always function in balance. The passages directly concerned with the plot-triggering adulterous betrayal—the recollections of Madeleine and Valentine—smack too rawly of emotion untempered by art. There is also a tendency toward a wearying sameness in the overall texture of the novel. Episodes, ruminations and characterizations merge together in an even consistency which resists discrimination and makes for monotony. The reader misses the urgency of anticipation that the conventional suspense-rhythm of narration usually supplies. Given the comic needs of Bellow's plan and his decision to remain within the associational field of one man's mind, this was perhaps a necessary sacrifice, but it is still a weakness. The prose style, on the other hand, is almost completely admirable —sensuous, lucid, satirical, grotesque, erudite and racy of the urban soil. It is only when Bellow attempts a purely lyrical flight that I find him deficient. And except for the Sono episodes (which are deliciously funny), the erotic scenes (especially with Ramona) seem to me forced and unconvincing. The reminiscent encounters between Herzog and his familial circle, by contrast, possess the authenticity of art at its very highest. Bellow's muse is essentially comic and unfashionably rational and *Herzog* is a resounding success, a joy to read and a painful delight to reflect upon.

But I must briefly pursue one final—possibly irrelevant—reflection. I have tried to show that this is a highly comic novel of ideas, intransigently social, and desperately honest in trying to face up to the soul-crushing intellectual challenges of our

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times. I think that Bellow is the most important novelist we have and I think that *Herzog* is his richest and fullest achievement. And yet when one invokes the still palpable ghosts of Faulkner and Hemingway, not to mention the nineteenth-century American giants, we are immediately aware of his lesser stature in comparison to them. They too were passionately concerned with the ambivalences of self, identity, and the implacable hostility of the universe. They too were in their differing ways comic. But their stances in relation to their art and the world show some cardinal differences from Bellow's. They were each of them, in some sense, "provincials"; he is not. They were each of them capable of rejecting or ignoring the world in order to construct their own worlds; he cannot do this. Their majesty consists in their ability to have built counterworlds in despite of the actual worlds around them. And the actual world has come to embrace their mythic structures as actualities and it has moved on its axis to come into accord with the rhythms of their imaginations. Bellow may conceivably surrender too much of his private myth to the exigencies of the world. His intellectual and emotional cosmopolitanism, his commitment to a social good, may cause him to modify the structuring shapes of his own dreams to accord with the world-as-it-is. And if this speculation should possess some truth, it is the world's loss as well as Bellow's, for the world will have no choice except to absorb his work which changes it not. His accomplishment is a major one. Yet might it not be even greater if he could compel the world to move in the measures of his own vision?

The Region of Culture

THE MACHINE IN THE GARDEN. *By Leo Marx. Oxford. $6.75.*

Reviewed by PAUL LEVINE

The study of American literature has virtually become the study of American civilization. Even before D. H. Lawrence pointed out the "duplicity" between what the novel said and what the novelist meant, critics had begun to define the dialectics in American life and letters. Van Wyck Brooks called these polarities "highbrow" and "lowbrow" while Parrington labeled them "liberal" and "conservative." More recent critics, taking their cue from Lawrence, have talked about innocence and experience, love and death, the novel and the romance, and, now, the garden and the machine.

Leo Marx's *The Machine in the Garden* continues this line of inquiry which leads from literature to larger questions.

> This [Mr. Marx writes] is not, strictly speaking, a book about literature; it is about the region of culture where literature, general ideas, and certain products of the collective imagination—we may call them "cultural symbols"—meet. To appreciate the significance and power of our American fables it is necessary to understand the interplay between the literary imagination and what happens outside literature, in the general culture. My special concern is to show how the pastoral ideal has been incorporated in a powerful metaphor of contradiction—a way of ordering meaning and value that clarifies our situation today.

Although much has already been written about the garden and the machine by such disparate critics as Parrington, Henry Nash Smith, R. W. B. Lewis, and Morton and Lucia White, Mr. Marx has set himself an ambitious task which contributes to our understanding of American civilization in two ways. First, he ties the American pastoral mode to the great European tradition beginning with Virgil. Second, he shifts the focus from the popular sentimentalized pastoral dream to the more ambiguous imaginative "pastoral ideal." Using as his metaphor "the middle landscape" between the naïvely primitive and the self-consciously civilized, Mr. Marx deals with "its adaptation to the conditions of life in the New World, its emergence as a distinctively American theory of society, and its subsequent transformation under the impact of industrialism."

Despite the author's disclaimer that "this is not meant to be a comprehensive study,"

PAUL LEVINE teaches American literature at Wesleyan University.

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The Machine in the Garden is a "big" book —365 pages of text—and the reader has the right to expect a certain amount of comprehensiveness, not to say complexity, in such a work. Here Mr. Marx disappoints us. Like most critics pushing a thesis, he deftly finds what he was looking for. But in the process he overlooks more significant material than he finds. Thus as a critique of "the collective imagination," *The Machine in the Garden* is perfunctory because it fails to deal with both the cultural phenomena of Puritanism, Southwestern humor and nineteenth-century Utopianism and the imaginative phenomena of the visual arts of painting, architecture and landscape gardening. As a study of American literature it is deficient because it omits, on the one hand, any serious discussion of such important literary figures as Edwards, Cooper, Poe, James, Crane and Howells while it fails, on the other, to explore "the middle landscape" depicted by such relevant minor writers as Freneau, Brown, Norris, Donnelly and Jack London. Just as passing comments about Cole, Inness and Sheeler are no substitute for the systematic application of "the pastoral ideal" to the entire landscape tradition from Allston through Homer to Marin, so a chapter devoted to "Shakespeare's American play," *The Tempest,* cannot compensate for the virtual omission of seventeenth-century *American* writing.

Throughout Mr. Marx subjugates "the collective imagination" to the thesis. Why else would he explore the eighteenth-century idea of "the garden" almost totally through Beverley's *History and Present State of Virginia* and Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* without ever mentioning New England? Why else would he misread Royall Tyler's *The Contrast* so blatantly, making the country bumpkin, Jonathan, the embodiment of "the values of the middle landscape" when Tyler so clearly made him the servant to that natural aristocrat, Captain Manly? Why else would he limit his discussion of Hawthorne's fiction to "Ethan Brand" when *The Blithedale Romance* is totally involved with "the pastoral ideal"? To be sure, *The Machine in the Garden* has its point to make, but that point might have been made more persuasively in a long article. In its present form, this overlong and underfed work proves once again that there is less in many critical studies than meets the eye.

Art or Entertainment?

THE LITERATURE OF GOSSIP: NINE ENGLISH LETTERWRITERS. *By Elizabeth Drew. Norton. $5.*

Reviewed by W. K. ROSE

What a good idea to write a book on the art of letter-writing, one thinks, picking up *The Literature of Gossip.* Not since the eighteenth century has there been so much interest in "the unpremeditated art"—such curiosity about personality and delight in its manifestations. Where the letter-writer is also an author, the current mode of criticism, with its strong emphasis on the connection between personal utterance and the work of art, adds fuel to the reader's expectation. It seems a fine time for someone to investigate the nature of the relationship between the unpremeditated and the premeditated. With the increasing availability of personal documents, many critics and scholars need to examine their assumptions about such material and to avoid the temptations of a scoop. Clearly there are general questions to be asked, discriminations to be made. For example, is the informal writing of the literary artist different in kind or only in degree from his creative work? Or, returning to the larger subject, all sorts of questions about the unpremeditated art per se call for attention, especially in the light of developments in aesthetics and criticism. For example, how can letter-writing be considered as an art in any meaningful sense? Looking at large numbers of good letters, can one arrive at general statements about epistolary language or structure? About the role played by the addressee?

✪ W. K. ROSE is associate professor of English at Vassar College. He is the editor of *The Letters of Wyndham Lewis* and is currently working on a study of the modern movement in London between 1910 and 1922, tentatively titled *The Men of 1914.*

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Elizabeth Drew, having done much in earlier days to encourage the understanding of modern poetry, seems a likely person to address herself to these problems of another uncharted area. Unfortunately, she has not chosen to do so. Her conclusions are sparse and unpenetrating.

> Familiar letters are written originally for an audience of one. They are regardless of fame and futurity. It takes two to write a letter as much as it takes two to make a quarrel. A letter . . . is a person-to-person communication.
>
> Direct "self-expression" . . . is of the essence of a good letter; personality is its hallmark. Individuals who have achieved the greatest fame in this truly "unpremeditated art" have always been highly intelligent, interested in and curious about the world around them and the variety of people they meet or hear of in it. . . . [They] can always inspire the commonplace with an uncommon flavor, and transform trivialities by some original grace or sympathy or humour or affection.

This is really all she has to say, except for her debatable assertion that the letter "is the only form of writing in which women have equalled men in achievement."

It is evident that Miss Drew never intended to write a work of critical analysis, and perhaps she can be faulted only on her choice of title. Her book is not about the literature of gossip. Rather, it consists of a series of brief essays summarizing the life and letters of Dorothy Osborne, Swift, Lady Mary Wortley Montague, Horace Walpole, Cowper, Lamb, Byron, Jane Carlyle and Edward Fitzgerald. In each case Miss Drew places the writer in his milieu and charts his career and interests, especially as they are reflected in his correspondence. She also makes some attempt, through quotation and comment, to give the epistolary quality of each. Her success in this effort varies; thanks to her sensitivity and her own stylistic gifts, it can be considerable, as in the essay on Jane Carlyle.

All the essays are, in fact, a pleasure to read. Miss Drew leads the reader along easily, charming him with her sympathy and urbanity. Yet after a time the gnawing question that plagues all belletristic endeavors will not be silenced: is anything to

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be got from this beyond entertainment? And (since good letters are themselves so readable) wouldn't I get more even of that by going to the sources? It does seem that Miss Drew has nothing new to offer in the way of scholarship or insight. Too often, in fact, she appears to rely wholly on the standard scholarly works. (Her account of Lady Mary reads like a digest of Robert Halsband's *Life*.) She has done her homework well enough in most cases, although it is disturbing to have her refer to Sybil Le Brocquy, the writer on Swift, as Sybil de Brocuy in her text and as Sybil Le Brocuy in her bibliography.

The essays in *The Literature of Gossip* evoke for the serious reader today another era. Their genre reached its height in Virginia Woolf and its depth, perhaps, in Elbert Hubbard. Miss Drew belongs of course in the Woolf class. The kinship is in fact worth mentioning; for just as the pieces in the Common Readers were most stimulating when they dealt with esoteric lives, so are Miss Drew's on Cowper and Fitzgerald her most satisfying. One wishes she had been as ingenious in all her choices. Why not, for example, Gray instead of Swift, Beckford instead of Walpole?

Guilt and its History

PERSPECTIVES BY INCONGRUITY *and* TERMS FOR ORDER. *By Kenneth Burke. Edited by Stanley Edgar Hyman, with the assistance of Barbara Karmiller. Indiana University Press. $6.95.*

Reviewed by ALVIN C. KIBEL

For some time now Kenneth Burke has been extrapolating a theory of literature into a comprehensive view of human nature and society, even while producing it. The enterprise may be compared, perhaps, to the way in which a literary work like *Hamlet* or *Don Quixote* establishes relations to experience that, in turn, influence future readings of it, until the work be-

ALVIN C. KIBEL teaches literature at Wesleyan University. He has published several articles dealing with the philosophical implications of critical theory and is currently writing a book on the subject.

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comes what philosophers term a "self-fulfilling prophecy" that brings about the conditions of its own truth; only in Burke's case, the work is a critical system still incomplete and the experience is of all the various symbolic activities that comprise human culture. Burke's intention, I think, is to provide a philosophic basis for the practice of "cultural studies"—that form of criticism which takes the understanding of imaginative literature as paradigmatic for the understanding of culture generally. One requisite of this daunting activity is to make abrupt forays from literature into psychology, philosophy and social theory, testing the synoptic power of a critical vocabulary during the process of evolving it. The reader approaching Burke for the first time may, in consequence, experience some difficulty in knowing where to pick up the thread of argument; and Mr. Hyman has done this reader service in separating the wider-ranging excursions from the more straightforward work and offering a representative selection from each.

The continuity of Burke's theoretical development can be made clear by the following, quite early passage.

> The experiences of maturity are revisions and amplifications of . . . childhood patterns. An adult, for instance, may turn his thoughts from a father to a father-government; yet even in later life, should he take an axe and fell a great tree, we need not be surprised to find a strange misgiving permeate him as the noble symbol of shelter comes crashing to the earth. For however neutral his act, though the tree has been felled to satisfy the simple utilitarian needs of firewood, there may also be lurking here a kind of symbolic parricide. Not only firewood, but a parent-symbol, may be brought down in the crash.

Burke's was not the psychoanalytic point that we must all wrestle with demons engendered during early childhood; the Freudian vocabulary simply gave him a convenient handle for grasping a bulkier theory. Like Freud, Burke looks forward to a modification in our experience of guilt. Unlike Freud, however, he does not trace the origins of suppressed guilt-feelings to events in prehistory, recapitulated during

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the first few years of life; nor does he look upon religion precisely as a mass-neurosis, no better at promoting an ideal inner strength than the individual neuroses of secular men. For Burke, on the contrary, guilt is endemic to *any* human condition: it is virtually identical with the unacknowledged self-hatred that must accompany man's conflict with himself, nature, his fellowmen (trees being, after all, private property). Man's life comprises not only physical motion but also symbolical action; one can quarrel with one's father or, like Hume, write a book denying the real, substantial power of antecedent causes. Burke doesn't mean to challenge the autonomy of philosophic effort by such interpretations; he means rather to argue the presence of poetic motives in metaphysical thought—means, that is, to underwrite poetry as the archetype of symbolic action generally, because it offers not only symbolical experiences but also appropriate symbolical expiations.

To begin with, Burke's concern was with the competitive paradigms of modern industrial society, which seemed increasingly to demand the commission of symbolical outrages at the very moment that man had lost the memory of communal techniques (religious practices, ancestral customs, traditional pieties) for the propitiating of inner guilt; lately he has been occupied in tracing the guilt-producing mechanisms inherent in the use of language itself. Like Eliot and the New Critics, Burke looks back to an imagined age of communal piety; unlike them, however, he doesn't take poetry as a mere symptom of some higher sensibility, integral or dissociated, as the case may be. For Burke the evacuation of specifically religious feelings signaled an improvement in the psychic economy, and poetry (an acknowledged touch of I. A. Richards here) offers the efficient, humane substitute—both as ritual preparation for life and as a kind of limiting case against which other symbolical activities can be measured. It is the old romantic dream, refurbished out of Freud and Cassirer—"knowledge not purchased by the loss of power."

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This account is much too summary to suggest the full range of Burke's ideas; it skimps, for example, his primary emphasis upon poetry as cognition. In some ways, the fault is Mr. Hyman's, whose selections in this double volume reflect his own interest in mythic and ritual *motifs*. (To use a Burkean notation-by-italics, Mr. Hyman is basically concerned with poetry as *symbolic* action, Burke himself with poetry as symbolic *action*.) But in some ways, Burke lends his system to just this summary judgment. To be sure, the notion that symbolic guilt is the by-product of all specifically human activity leads to the kind of literary study that avoids the reduction of art to "salvation" archetypes (in this manner of much New Criticism) and skirts the dangers of Freudian reduction to archetypes of neurosis. Yet one cannot say that Burke has identified guilt as our primary humane emotion with any proficiency: it is simply the *given* of his system, and the result, I think, is a loss in genuine historical perspective. In some ways, Burke is the most diligent of our modern critics. His orientation leads him to take the intricate functioning of a poem as one thing for the poet, another for his readers, and both as important coordinates for critical interpretation. But Burke's theory can do scant justice to the modifications that the changing organization of communal life has worked upon the experience of subliminal guilt. In his critical universe, every *is* projects an *ought*, every assertion of being, however neutral, implies the infringing of secret prohibitions. This sounds like an induction not from literary experience, but from modern literary experience, which frequently dramatizes the obscuring of connections between efficient (hence "reasonable") social activity and the workings of conscience—an obscuring characteristic of modern technological civilization. Burke's literary analyses, then, leave one with the feeling that every work has somehow been made over into an uneasy anticipation of Kafka. This collection represents the two books Burke has been in the course of writing all his life, neither quite successful. Both immensely repay study.

Mr. Boyd's Remarkable Study

NUMBER 7: Alexander Hamilton's Secret Attempt to Control American Foreign Policy. With Supporting Documents. *By Julian P. Boyd. Princeton University Press. $4.*

Reviewed by ADRIENNE KOCH

There is a crude type of American political dogma that assigns all questions regarding the work and respective influences of Jefferson and Hamilton to partisanship, or to sheer and irrational preference. By use of this fund of prefabricated cynicism, it is possible to ignore specific assertions about the relative role and worth of these two commanding personages in American history and thus to perpetuate the clownish image of Jefferson and Hamilton as just "natchurly" gamecocks—bred for the bloody gambling arena of politics. Not only is this attitude intolerable on aesthetic grounds—devoid as it is of the qualifications and ironies of decent political comedy—but it is a massive barrier to increasing truth about the American past. Perchance even the present. For one must ask *not:* are you a Jeffersonian? Are you a Hamiltonian? *But:* why and in virtue of what specific events, traits and values do you elevate one of these commanding leaders over the other? That these influential statesmen were adversaries is assuredly true; yet how ironic, after all the heated controversy of self-styled "Jeffersonians" and "Hamiltonians" throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, that a vastly significant phase of Hamilton's conduct remained practically unknown or so fragmentarily and conjecturally grasped that controversy could continue to seesaw without limit.

This invaluable book by the distinguished editor of the Jefferson Papers, and President of the American Historical Association in 1964, now conclusively establishes one firm limit to the Jefferson-Hamilton controversy. For Mr. Boyd's book, although written with care and commenda-

✪ ADRIENNE KOCH is professor of history and chairman of American Studies at the University of California, Berkeley. On leave this year, she is working on a book on the Grimké sisters.

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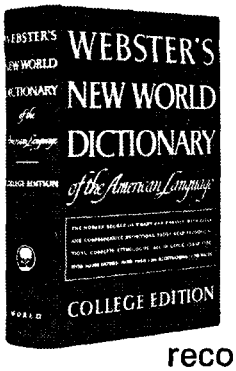

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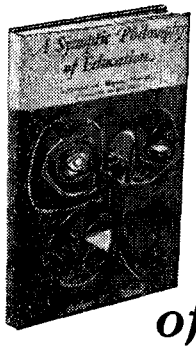

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ble restraint, uncovers a complex area of the truth that can no longer be ignored. When one reflects upon the revelations the author makes in *Number 7,* it is sober statement of fact to call them nothing short of explosive.

All past political history of the critical years 1789-1790 must now be radically altered in terms of the startling discoveries made by Mr. Boyd of the nature of Hamilton's involvement in foreign policy in these vulnerable opening years of the new American Republic. For in his carefully documented study Mr. Boyd establishes beyond reasonable doubt several momentous facts. First, Alexander Hamilton had extensive secret dealings with a British confidential agent, Major George Beckwith, who was a highly useful emissary of Lord Dorchester, then the Governor General of Canada and a man who was himself constantly in touch with Lord Grenville, the British Foreign Secretary. Beckwith came to the seat of government in New York on repeated visits, in which he cultivated "the British interests" in America with an exceptional degree of success. His largest catch and most valued informant proved to be "the highly placed individual" to whom he assigned the cipher "Number 7" in his coded messages. Second, "Number 7," or Alexander Hamilton, deliberately dealt with President George Washington on a dishonest basis, misrepresenting the nature and the extent of his conversations with Beckwith and falsifying their content. Third, the "pattern of deception" that characterized Hamilton's conduct at the dawn of America's official foreign policy introduced an uncontrollable element of bad faith and personal intrigue into national politics in its loneliest days of critical struggle for existence.

These far-reaching facts carry a whole train of implications that penetrate so deeply into the course of American foreign and domestic politics that American historians are in for a period of hard rethinking and reformulating of the first decisive decade under the Republic. It is therefore best to review the picture as we mentally drew it prior to *Number 7,* and juxtapose a rough sketch of what Mr. Boyd's study demonstrates and implies.

Apart from existing studies of Jefferson's and Hamilton's major measures, differing ideologies and programs, official writings, speeches, actions and affiliations, and apart even from their admittedly distinctively different castes of mind and character, it was generally believed that Hamilton was Washington's closest and most trustworthy political associate in the course of his first administration; that he was in some sense *primus inter pares;* and that whatever his personal style of politics might be, he was a man of courage who frankly stated unpopular views (as he did in the Constitutional Convention). It is true that Hamilton's addiction to political maneuver and intrigue were known, and several scholars had pointed out the substantial invasion of the powers and domain of the Secretary of State, Jefferson, on the part of the Secretary of the Treasury. But it was still possible for Hamiltonians to rather laugh away these charges as one evidence the more of Hamilton's political skill and "know-how." Laughter will no longer be tenable.

Beyond this, in the area of foreign policy there is the classic work of Samuel Flagg Bemis on *Jay's Treaty,* published in 1923, and resting in part upon the documentary basis provided by the Archivist of the Dominion of Canada, Douglas Brymner, in his *Report* for 1890. Bemis had demonstrated that Hamilton was the principal architect of the Treaty of 1794, not John Jay, who merely negotiated it. Bemis depicted Hamilton's unrelenting labors which began as far back as 1789 and by which he attempted to tie American foreign policy

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closely to Great Britain's; and he also told a part of the Hamilton-Beckwith relationship. But Bemis' study did not do what Mr. Boyd's study does. Two major new contributions are clearly the fruit of Julian Boyd's scholarship.

First, Bemis' study did not probe the linkage of economic and political events and relationships between the new government of the United States and the still imperious British policy-makers at Whitehall, with their extensive system of secret intelligence in North America, emanating from Quebec as well as London. Nor did Bemis consider the larger pattern of the first decade of America's national existence. Boyd does, seeing it as a decade of severe trial in which the United States vainly tried to dispel the overhanging hostility of Great Britain by advancing a system of commercial reciprocity, with attendant exclusions against nations not in treaty with the United States. In Mr. Boyd's remarkable study, the plight of a young nation, forced to aspire to the status of a neutral, with its inevitable tensions and hazards and also with its fringe benefits, provides the framework for his narrative.

The young republic, alone in a world of old monarchies, he writes,

> was caught between the opposing aims of France and England. . . . Spain blocked the trade of the western territories at the mouth of the Mississippi, the most important portal of the continent. . . . England looked on with close attention, if not encouragement, as the Allens in Vermont and their counterparts in Kentucky talked more and more of coming to terms with a nation that could protect their local interests.

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In this situation, the United States possessed only two potentially powerful resources: a policy of neutrality "that she feared . . . could be violated at will by European powers"; and the weapon of commercial retaliation that Americans had employed before the Revolution. Above all, concludes Mr. Boyd, "What she did not need . . . was to have either of these weapons blunted or destroyed by foreign influence penetrating her highest councils."

Precisely this story of the blunting and destroying of the only two resources for an independent American foreign economic and political policy is Mr. Boyd's second original contribution to our knowledge, and the subject of his major narrative line. In the course of preparing Volume 17 of the Jefferson Papers, Mr. Boyd's editing genius prompted him to scrutinize exhaustively every document relevant to the war crisis of 1790. The pay load he unearthed provides dramatic proof of the value of the kinds of questions a profound editor can put to documents. Among the numerous startling disclosures the author makes of the Hamilton-Beckwith episode is the proof that Hamilton reported to Washington supposed conversations of July 8 and 15, 1790, in which he puts words into Beckwith's mouth that the British agent never said, and screened out unfriendly things he did say. These deliberately dishonest accounts of Beckwith's conversations and instructions were tendered by Hamilton to the President of the United States in the midst of the Anglo-Spanish war crisis of 1790 at the very point when the President and the Secretary of State were trying to cope with the next turn of their foreign strategy.

Upon inspection, the evidence provided in these two documents is painfully clear. Hamilton carefully doctored the harsh language used by Lord Dorchester in his instructions to Beckwith, in order to remove every offensive trace of his secret dealings over the past year in the course of which he had committed his government to a policy of close collaboration with Britain and in which he had demolished Jefferson's and Washington's policy of a watchful and resourceful neutrality. It is important to understand that more than a *negative* failure (to report Dorchester accurately) was involved. Hamilton *positively* deceived Washington on the vital issue of the British ministry's desire for friendly intercourse and even for an alliance—an imputed friendliness that flatly contradicted the substance of Dorchester's instructions. At the same time, Hamilton discredited Gouverneur Morris, who, as Washington's official emissary to Great

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Britain, had informed the President that the British ministry intended to retain possession of their posts in the United States (despite the Treaty of Peace) and considered a treaty of commerce with America as "absolutely unnecessary."

These two false testimonies of Hamilton's are only a small cut from an extensive series of clandestine dealings that marked the conduct of the Secretary of the Treasury and precipitated a decade of bitter internal conflict in the highest councils of the state. John Adams, before that decade terminated, wrote grimly: "The worst Evil that can happen in any Government is a divided executive." The import of *Number 7* is at the very least incontrovertible proof that Hamilton's behavior worked to this end. Further, this pioneering book raises the gravest questions about the so-called doctrine of political "realism" insofar as Hamilton has been taken as its exemplar. One school of historians has credited Hamilton with a deeper understanding of "the national interest" than was possessed by any other major American statesman in the formative era. What is now clear is that Hamilton's dominant will to push through his policy for close collaboration with Great Britain, virtually at any price, using covert maneuvers and illicit means to achieve his inflexible ends, is nowise describable as good statesmanship —neither in effecting its objectives nor in preserving the minimal dignity, independence and national credibility that are after all requisite for "the national interest."

Beyond the structure of facts and detailed exploration of the meanings indicated by the documentary record, Mr. Boyd's vision opens majestic new hints and starting points for American history. He has substantially asked us to consider which early political party should be tagged with the label "doctrinaire"; which one "patriotic"; which one "realist." But he has argued in the midst of all this for an understanding of the forces making for a federal union, a nation, that have hitherto been rather grandly displaced. The "new secular order" of the United States had a harder life and a brighter gleam than the pages of our written history have hitherto managed to suggest.

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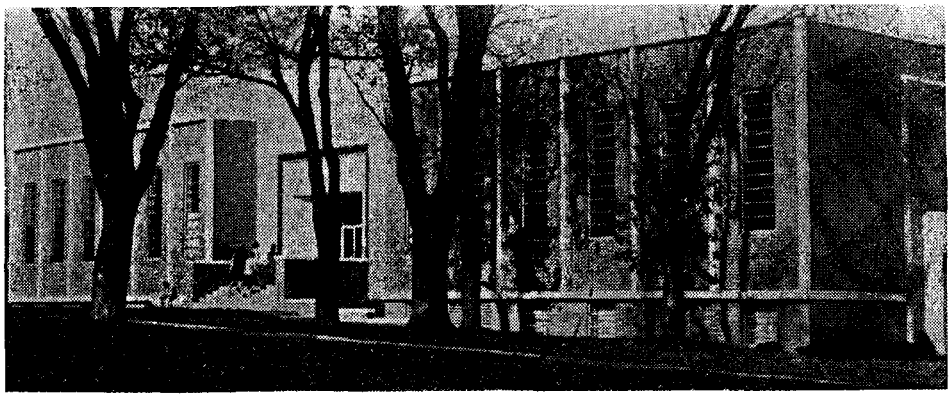

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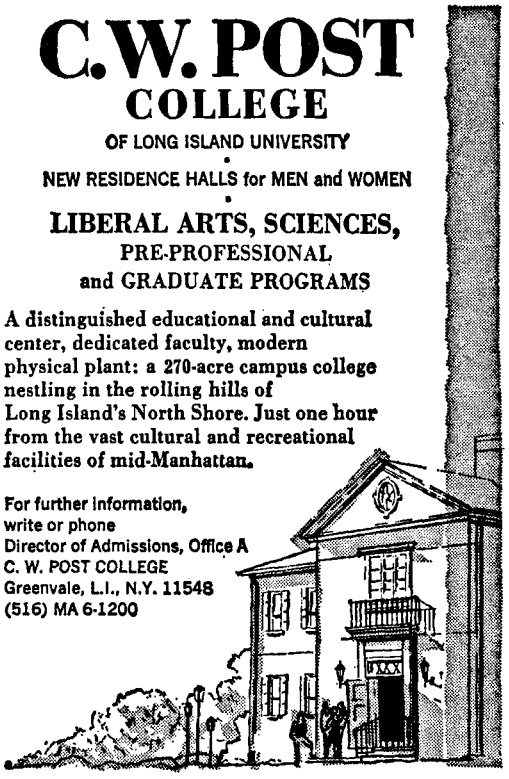

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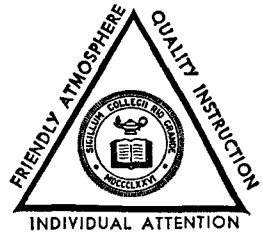

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The Reader Replies . . . . . .

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—EDITOR

My good friend Reverend Ernest Werner published an excellent article on the mediocrity of the Protestant ministry in the Winter, 1964-65, issue. I would suggest, however, that he dismisses too easily the outstanding achievements of Martin Luther King and Gandhi, for under the Protestant doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, we must accord a supremely great ministry to both Dr. King and Gandhi. Gandhi was surely more than a successful lawyer; American lawyers do not have ashrams, do not usually read the Bhagavad-Gita and do not win freedom for India.

The basic and pervasive difficulty is that, under the influence of pragmatism, existentialism, and Barthianism, central convictions have been eroded. Religions are the creations of exemplars who incarnate supremely universal values, and these values are constitutive of the Order of Reality. When these two beliefs are lost, religion becomes merely a matter of pragmative, subjective adjustment to dominant elements in the culture. The supreme blunder of the church to which Reverend Werner and I happen to belong—the Unitarian—is the lack of recognition of the authority of men of superb spiritual insight, although we Unitarians recognize the authority of men of science, historians, pragmatic philosophers! In religion, we tend to assume nothing has ever been done, we all start from scratch! And this is the fault, in part, of schools of theology. The four Unitarian-Universalist schools of theology are not accredited by the American Association of Theological Schools, and not one of the deans has the doctor's degree! So much for Unitarian pretensions to intellectual eminence!

ALFRED P. STIERNOTTE
Quinnipiac College
Hamden, Connecticut

DR. WERNER replies: It only obscures things, I think, to make a great *minister* out of Martin Luther King. His position is rather unique, but it obviously won't do to say that he embodies the religious aspirations of his people or that he is important for doing the things that ministers do.

We do have a few ministers who have made extraordinary efforts in the ministry, not great men all around but exceptional personalities who have done important things inside congregations. They have had to contend with distractions and pressures of popularity, and they are men whom no one outside their communities and denominations has ever heard of, like Wallace Fisher among Lutherans and Kenneth Patton among Universalists.

I still think, then, that the Protestant ministry, and not just the Unitarian, is too thoroughly compromised in its alliance with popularity to speak to current moral and religious urgencies in an important fashion (anyone can *talk* about great issues, of course!). Since this professional popularity is merged with a disappearing Protestant religious community, we are further distracted into efforts at makeshift usefulness along secular lines and do not gather energy to concentrate and penetrate things.

* * *

T. S. Matthews' eloquent but bleak passage closing his essay "But Westward, Look! . . ." [AS: Autumn, 1964] is a perfect expression of a feeling I had arrived at just at the time I read his words. To my mind, Thucydides is a much more profound analyst of the current American situation than any of our contemporaries. Like his Athens, our America has had too much of a good thing—power, *dynamis*, in the Greek sense of "ability to accomplish things." We have the power to do almost anything, it seems, but discover the just way to use our powers. Like Athens, therefore, we may be on the brink of the familiar tragic pattern of overweening

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pride leading to blindness and catastrophe that Thucydides describes.

If we had begun, say, two decades ago the enormous task of promoting social justice within America and helping the great majority of people abroad also to attain justice (a far different thing from "defending and extending the free world"), it is possible that our unprecedented power would have really made us "the hope of the world." Many scholars (like those in the Autumn issue), the nonviolent civil rights and peace movements, and other elements of American society have been saying these things all this time, but with little effect. It now seems likely that before long China will be the nation with the most influence in the world, and inside America the tension between races and economic classes will take a form that can hardly be described now, but which will not be pleasant.

What could be the role of an American scholar in such a situation? I wish I knew.

JON JOHANNING
Yale University

* * *

Mr. William Hixson, described as a student of American history, makes an interesting witness.

He questions the attitude of "intellectuals" toward "The Negro Revolution." [AS: Autumn, 1964] To quote him, "the chronic instability of European governments and their succumbing to totalitarian revolution impressed intellectuals with the benefits of social order. In their view, revolution was not only linked with despotism, but was unproductive of social gains."

Mr. Hixson testifies that the "demands" of a Negro revolution "challenge" that "analysis of intellectuals" because, he says: "Insofar as they have reinforced their public's devotion to order, they have aided militant racists in the South, who by standing firm can establish the terms of the conflict, and vacillating administrators in the North." He admonishes: "It is worth asking again to what degree social order, not to mention national unity, and the protection of civil rights are reconcilable."

It is an interesting reaction to the study of American history to advise intellectuals to consider whether they should now reject Lincoln in favor of John Brown of Osawatomie.

Those who understand the life of the body do not forget that pain can deform it. Those who understand the life of the mind remember that suffering conditions it. Mr. Hixson reveals himself; he cries out: "Will civil rights legislation ever be accepted peacefully in the Alabama of George Wallace, the Louisiana of Leander Perez, or the Mississippi of Ross Barnett?"

We are told that in certain physical conditions the patient who can feel the touch of a hand is insensitive to the jab of a needle. It is well to be reminded that there are mental attitudes that disable the mind from responding to the full range of experience. If we had clinical tests to measure it, one could learn whether he had a full, normal reaction to the axiom that, without order, there are no legal rights; or even to such conspicuous facts of American history as that peaceful acceptance of the abolition of chattel slavery in the South today was not accomplished by private disorders.

Wherever civil rights legislation may not be accepted peacefully by "militant racists" it is backed by the army, the navy, the air force and the marines, as witness Little Rock and Oxford. That is the might of our social order. If that is insufficient, will Negroes, abetted by graduate students (or even by all intellectuals), whip the Southern white community?

The social order of the United States of America is the most powerful friend Negroes ever had anywhere in this brutal world. To

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those who would open their mouths to challenge that plain fact one only can say, as Lincoln once said in another context, right reason cannot be fashioned into the shape of a corncob to make a gag for folly.

The attitude Mr. Hixson attributes to "the Negro revolution" is that "American Negroes have difficulty in not regarding the Civil War as fought between one side that would enslave them and another that did not want them at all." He would do well to remember the bitter truth in that, however painful it may be, and also that it is not the whole truth. A student of American history should be able to remind "American Negroes" that the side that "did not want them at all" nevertheless put their lives at stake and died by the hundreds of thousands to make the civil rights of Negroes in America the supreme law of the land.

The reality is that a Negro, like every normal human being, wants more than just civil rights. He wants to be wanted on the basis of his common humanity. Whenever the response to reality is unclouded by despair, any Negro readily perceives that he would hinder what he wants most by taking sides against order in the community; and that as an intellectual matter he would thereby inject an irrelevance—except, indeed, as that might express a rejection of the white community rendering him as much a "militant racist" as any Perez or Wallace or Barnett.

No profound intellectuality is needed but only ordinary apprehension of the facts to realize that whites and Negroes in America must come fully to accept each other as human beings, hard as many white people still may find that saying, for obviously a longer history than America's can testify that nations put hobbles on their hopes when one large segment of the population rejects the other, whether one measures success by harsh imperatives of survival or by the Lord's Prayer. Given the social order of the United States, we, black and white alike, can save ourselves from that; and we are doing so. If we are doing so rather more rapidly than some realize who suffer because it may not fully and finally be accomplished in their little lifetimes, who shall blame their suffering?

Nevertheless, hard as they in their turn may find the further saying, let them beware how the deforming wrench of suffering distorts understanding. If the so-called Negro Revolution ever establishes itself in the image portrayed by Mr. Hixson, as an enemy of order, it will have aided those racists who postpone the hoped-for day by merely standing firm when Negroes give them ready-made excuse to define the conflict in those terms.

EDWARD B. HAYES
The John Marshall Law School
Chicago, Illinois

MR. HIXSON replies: As I understand him, Mr. Hayes opposes my description of the Negro movement as "revolutionary"; he argues that, "unclouded by despair, any Negro readily perceives that he would hinder what he wants most by taking sides against order in the community." But "order" is a most ambiguous concept. Is Mr. Hayes referring to the "order" of the Federal Government's enforcement of Constitutional guarantees of equality? Or is he referring to the "order" of community patterns of racial discrimination? If we are to make any progress toward the elimination of the consequent humiliation, exploitation and poverty, the order embodying discrimination must be destroyed.

Without the direct action of nonviolent demonstrators, no Federal action has been forthcoming in the crucial areas of employment and public accommodations. Without a threatened march on Washington in 1941, there would have been no wartime F.E.P.C.; without the sit-ins and the Birmingham demonstrations, no Civil Rights Act of 1964. And the most notable setbacks that Negroes have recently suffered—whether the repeal of fair housing in California or the pressure against school pairing in New York—have been due not to a sudden backlash against demonstrations, but to old-fashioned resistance to integration itself. It would be suicidal for the Negro movement to oppose the legal system and turn to rebellion. But if it is not to fall by default into the receivership of the black John Browns, it cannot afford to renounce its present tactics of extra-legal, but nonviolent, demonstrations.

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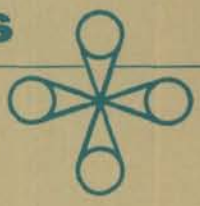

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